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AN

ATTEMPT

TO PROVE

THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY

FROM

THE WISDOM DISPLAYED IN ITS ORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT,

AND FROM

THE HISTORY OF FALSE AND CORRUPTED SYSTEMS OF RELIGION:

IN A

SERIES OF DISCOURSES

PREACHED

BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

IN THE YEAR MDCCCVIII,

At the Lecture founded by

THE LATE REV. JOHN BAMPTON, M. A.

CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY

JOHN PENROSE, M. A.

OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

OXFORD:

At the University Press, for J. COOKE, and J. PARKER;

And for JOHN MURRAY, Fleet Street; F. and C. RIVINGTON, St. Paul's Church Yard; J. HATCHARD, Piccadilly; and A. CONSTABLE and Co. Edinburgh.

1808.

18446.

TO

HIS GRACE

THE

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IT is ſo natural that I ſhould deem it a high diſtinction to be permitted to inſcribe this work to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that but few words can be requiſite to expreſs my ſenſe of the obligation. My habits of intercourſe with a county in which your Grace has been long known are ſuch as to have inſtructed me in the full value of the favour thus conferred upon me. Indeed, I ſhall readily be believed in declaring that I feel it to be doubly gratifying, as it proceeds from a perſon whoſe character reflects the higheſt honour on his ſplendid rank.

The well-known Bampton Lectures for the year 1784 contain a view of the contraſt between Chriſtianity and Mahometaniſm. To thoſe lectures I am willing to think that theſe may be conſidered as ſupplemental. I have endeavoured to prove the truth of the Chriſtian religion by an inquiry into the wiſdom which was diſplayed in its firſt eſtabliſhment: and I have taken a line of argument which I do not recollect to have ſeen purſued elſewhere. In the proſecution of this inquiry I have been led into a ſeries of hiſtorical details concerning thoſe teachers of falſe religions, or of a corrupted Chriſtianity, from whoſe conduct I thought it moſt expedient to ſhow that the conduct of Chriſt himſelf may be diſtinguiſhed by infallible criteria. And, though I have purpoſely abſtained from any particular animadverſion on the hiſtory of the Arabian legiſlator, ſtill the topics which I have attempted to diſcuſs are ſo ſimilar to that of Profeſſor White, that I may be accounted, not, indeed, as a writer of the ſame claſs, but as a labourer in the ſame department with him.

Every

Every author is entitled to flatter himſelf that he has done ſomething for the queſtion of which he has treated; and ſhould he on this account be thought guilty of vanity, it is better to ſubmit to that imputation than to incur the ſtill more ſerious charge of trifling, willingly, with the attention of the Public. I venture, therefore, to hope that the argument of theſe diſcourſes, an argument, which, if juſt, is certainly of the greateſt importance, will be found to have been uſefully conducted. Should this hope be realized, your Grace, I am ſure, will not repent the encouragement which you have been pleaſed to beſtow on him, who has the honour to ſubſcribe himſelf, with the moſt unfeigned reſpect, your Grace's moſt obliged and obedient Servant,

JOHN PENROSE.

C. C. C. June 14, 1808.

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EXTRACT

FROM THE

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF THE LATE

REV. JOHN BAMPTON,

CANON OF SALISBURY.

——"I give and bequeath my Lands and "Eſtates to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars "of the Univerſity of Oxford for ever, to have "and to hold all and ſingular the ſaid Lands or "Eſtates upon truſt, and to the intents and pur-"poſes hereinafter mentioned; that is to ſay, I "will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of "the Univerſity of Oxford for the time being ſhall "take and receive all the rents, iſſues, and pro-"fits thereof, and (after all taxes, reparations, and "neceſſary deductions made) that he pay all the "remainder to the endowment of eight Divinity "Lecture Sermons, to be eſtabliſhed for ever in "the ſaid Univerſity, and to be performed in the "manner following:

"I direct and appoint, that, upon the firſt "Tueſday in Eaſter Term, a Lecturer be yearly "choſen

" chofen by the Heads of Colleges only, and by
" no others, in the room adjoining to the Print-
" ing-Houſe, between the hours of ten in the
" morning and two in the afternoon, to preach
" eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year fol-
" lowing, at St. Mary's in Oxford, between the
" commencement of the laſt month in Lent Term,
" and the end of the third week in Act Term.

" Alſo I direct and appoint, that the eight Di-
" vinity Lecture Sermons ſhall be preached upon
" either of the following Subjects—to confirm
" and eſtabliſh the Chriſtian Faith, and to con-
" fute all heretics and ſchiſmatics—upon the di-
" vine authority of the holy Scriptures—upon
" the authority of the writings of the primitive
" Fathers, as to the faith and practice of the pri-
" mitive Church—upon the Divinity of our
" Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt—upon the Di-
" vinity of the Holy Ghoſt—upon the Articles
" of the Chriſtian Faith, as comprehended in the
" Apoſtles' and Nicene Creeds.

" Alſo I direct, that thirty copies of the eight
" Divinity Lecture Sermons ſhall be always
" printed, within two months after they are
" preached, and one copy ſhall be given to the
" Chancellor of the Univerſity, and one copy to
" the Head of every College, and one copy to the
" Mayor of the city of Oxford, and one copy to
" be put into the Bodleian Library; and the ex-
" pence

" pence of printing them ſhall be paid out of the " revenue of the Land or Eſtates given for eſta- " bliſhing the Divinity Lecture Sermons; and " the Preacher ſhall not be paid, nor be entitled " to the revenue, before they are printed.

" Alſo I direct and appoint, that no perſon " ſhall be qualified to preach the Divinity Lec- " ture Sermons, unleſs he hath taken the Degree " of Maſter of Arts at leaſt, in one of the two " Univerſities of Oxford or Cambridge; and that " the ſame perſon ſhall never preach the Divi- " nity Lecture Sermons twice."

quence would be prejudicial, and truſts its future, though perhaps diſtant triumph to the undoubted efficacy of truth. Craft, leſs ſcrupulous in its ambition, is leſs exact alſo in its caſuiſtry; and, where an immediate intereſt may be advanced by politic falſehood, either is not aware of, or does not regard, that certain progreſs, by which falſehood, though it may proſper for a time, yet terminates eventually in defeat.

Various are the queſtions which this diſtinction might be employed ſucceſsfully to elucidate, and occaſions will ariſe in theſe Diſcourſes to examine many of its moſt important conſequences. At preſent, however, I ſhall content myſelf with ſtating, that it will be found to ſupply an accurate criterion, by which the truth of Chriſtianity may be determined, without entering into any diſcuſſion on the credibility of miracles, and without denying the full importance of all thoſe natural cauſes, to which alone the propagation of our faith has of late been artfully aſcribed. Such a criterion muſt be particularly adapted to obviate thoſe objections to our religion, which the ableſt of its recent adverſaries have propoſed, and which contribute more powerfully than any other difficulties to perplex the doubtful

doubtful Chriſtian, or confirm the wavering unbeliever.

Now it is manifeſt that Chriſtianity exiſts. What we have to examine is this: Whence did it ariſe? How was it propagated? If it was eſtabliſhed by the aid of miracles, the queſtion of its origin muſt be at reſt; it is decided by the authority of God himſelf. Unbelievers, therefore, neceſſarily hold, that the eſtabliſhment of our religion may reaſonably be attributed to cauſes ſimply human. They aſſert, that the conduct of its founders, ſtimulated by the zeal, though purified from the unſocial ſpirit of the Jewiſh ſyſtem, was wiſely contrived, or fortunately adapted, to incorporate in the profeſſion of a common faith the Jews, to whom it was repreſented as the conſummation of the Moſaic law, and the united nations of the Gentile world [a]. Motives are

[a] Gibbon, chap. xv. vol. i. p. 536, 541. 4to. ed. 1789. The *intolerance*, however, to which Mr. Gibbon attributes ſo much effect, is ſomewhat inconſiſtent with that ſpirit of incorporation, which he conſiders at the ſame time as one of the early characteriſtics of Chriſtianity. Thoſe Chriſtians who rejected the Jewiſh ceremonies, in ſome inſtances anathematized the Judaizers. They cannot, therefore, have been zealous for union with them under one comprehenſive ſyſtem.

alleged, by which it is ſuppoſed, that the craft of ſome, and the fanaticiſm of others, may have been incited to combine in the ſame attempt; by which ſelfiſh paſſions may have been urged to cooperate with ſincere piety in promoting equally the intereſts of the faith, and the ambitious policy of Conſtantine.

The apparent tendency of ſuch remarks is to ſuggeſt the inference, that, as the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity may be referred to the natural effect of human motives, no argument for the divine interference can be collected from its hiſtory. I hope, however, to ſhow, that it is an altogether contrary inference which juſtly ought to be derived from this congruity between the means employed, and the effect produced: I hope to prove on this very ground, that our religion was not eſtabliſhed by man alone, but bears genuine and indubitable traces of the finger of God.

Chriſtianity, then, originally promulgated among the Jews, is profeſſedly the conſummation of the Jewiſh law; and it is certain, alſo, that, freed from the temporary or local peculiarities of the Moſaic inſtitution, it offers its impartial promiſes to all the kindreds of the earth. By theſe characters, its permanent advancement and eventual greatneſs have been

un-

unqueſtionably conſulted. By theſe characters, alſo, the probability of its divine origin is confirmed; for, were not the means employed for the promotion of Chriſtianity both wiſe in themſelves, and calculated alſo to harmonize with the uſual motives of human action, that analogy would be violated, which, ſo far as we can perceive, has been invariably obſerved in the divine counſels, when there has been no reaſon for interrupting it. God laviſhes not unneceſſary miracles, but ſeems rather, in all practicable caſes, to work by the inſtrumentality of ſecond cauſes. It will be proved, however, that the mode and circumſtances, in which the Chriſtian religion was originally propoſed, were not ſuch, excluſively of miraculous interference, as might naturally have been expected to conciliate the immediate ſupport either of the Heathen or of the Jew, nor ſuch as the authors of the religion could poſſibly have deviſed with the political view of furthering its progreſs. We allow, that Chriſtianity is, indeed, a religion accommodated to the general ſtate, and aptly ſuited to the common hopes of mankind; that it accompliſhes the covenant which was made with Abraham; and that it admits the Gentile to participate in

the benefits of revelation: but we contend alſo, that its character is no where marked with the temporary and queſtionable expedients of human policy.

To be able to judge in what manner Chriſtianity was accommodated to the nature of mankind, it is neceſſary that we ſhould underſtand the circumſtances of thoſe perſons to whom it was firſt announced; that we take into conſideration their numerous and neceſſary prejudices, their fond but viſionary expectations. It will then be ſeen, that our religion, though well calculated, when it ſhould once have taken root, to become, eventually, univerſal; though wiſely ſuited to the general condition of mankind; yet had no natural probability nor proſpect of immediate eſtabliſhment; that it was every way repugnant to the particular opinions of the age in which it firſt appeared; that the policy by which it was characterized, and the objects which it was directed to attain, were ſuch as an enthuſiaſt, or an impoſtor, could not poſſibly have comprehended or propoſed.

Chriſt, though we now perceive his conduct to have been adapted to the character of the Meſſiah, who was announced by Jewiſh prophecies,

phecies, did not appear as the Meſſiah whom the Jews expected [b]. He was not received as the conſummator of the law, becauſe he did not countenance the common prejudices which exiſted reſpecting the mode of its conſummation. Nor to the Gentiles of the age in which Jeſus and his Apoſtles taught was the real diſcrimination between the Chriſtian and the Jewiſh religion ſo apparent, as to acquire that favour or impartiality for the one, which was generally denied to the other; or to vindicate the Chriſtian from that odium or contempt, which was every where the portion of the Jew. They who ſaw that Chriſtianity recognized the religion of Moſes, conſidered it as a ſect of Judaiſm, and were not likely to enquire ſolicitouſly into the peculiar diſtinction of the ſect, where they generally deſpiſed the religion. While Chriſt, therefore, to the Gentiles appeared a Jew, and to the Jews a blaſphemer of their law, he could derive no political advantage from the opinions or circumſtances of the age in which he lived. On no ſuppoſition can it be accounted for, that he ſhould have purſued a conduct liable to theſe objections, but on the ſuppoſition that he was

[b] Orobio, Amica Coll. p. 8. ed. Goudæ 4to.

a meſſenger of truth. An enthuſiaſt or an impoſtor, who pretended to the reforming character, would never have expoſed himſelf to the queſtion, which many parts even of the apoſtolical writings ſeem intended to reſolve, and which is recorded to have been aſked in the ſecond century by one of the moſt eminent adverſaries of our faith: "Why do you "reſt the foundations of your doctrine upon "the Jewiſh law, and yet abandon it as you "erect the ſuperſtructure[c]?"

It will be the object of my diſcourſes before this aſſembly to illuſtrate the diſtinction which has been thus ſtated between the real conduct of Jeſus Chriſt, and the conduct which any teacher of a falſe religion might, in the ſame circumſtances, have naturally been expected to purſue. The great and extenſive combinations, the ſimple, pure, unaccommodating character conſpicuous in the records of Chriſtianity, and exemplified in the hiſtory of its Author, will be compared with the temporal compliances and artifice, not only of hea-

[c] Η πως αρχεσθε μεν απο των ημετερων ιερων, ποιοντες δε αυτα ατιμαζετε; ουκ εχοντες αλλην αρχην ειπειν τε δογματος, η τον ημετερον νομον. Celſi Judæus ap. Orig. lib. ii. p. 59. ed. Spencer.

then

then lawgivers and pretended Chriſts, but more particularly, alſo, of enthuſiaſtic or deſigning Chriſtians. The enlarged wiſdom by which the counſels of God are eventually ſeen to be diſtinguiſhed, whenever we are competent to examine them, will be contraſted with the inferior ſkill and tranſitory objects of human policy. Intentions will be traced in the original code and inſtitution of Chriſtianity, which no enthuſiaſt or impoſtor could have entertained, and proſpective deſigns, which the knowledge exiſting among mankind at the time of its publication was not adequate to form, and which the miniſters and hiſtorians of its firſt eſtabliſhment did not, probably, themſelves foreſee.

In examining with this intention into the evidence of Chriſtianity, as it is propoſed to wave entirely the argument from miracles, I alſo forbear to adduce that direct teſtimony to the truth of the religion which is afforded by the books of the New Teſtament. So far, however, as theſe books give an account of the early hiſtory of our faith, I ſhall not heſitate to aſſume their authenticity, becauſe their fidelity, in this reſpect, has ſeldom been denied. It is allowed, hypothetically, by thoſe perſons who think that the founders of our religion

religion were enthuſiaſts. They who pronounce them to have been impoſtors, will be involved in unneceſſary difficulties, if they deny the truth of any part of the New Teſtament, except that which relates miracles, or bears an expreſs teſtimony to the religion. Theſe books, it is acknowledged, have all the external proofs of authenticity, in a ſtill greater degree than any others which have ſurvived the ravages of time; and all the more plauſible arguments againſt the truth of their contents have been directed, not, particularly, againſt the books, but, generally, againſt the credibility of miracles, and, ſometimes, againſt the conſiſtency of certain doctrines with the divine attributes. Such reaſoning, in whatever manner it may affect the truth of the doctrines, or the miracles, does not implicate the remainder of the hiſtory. It ſtill continues true, that Jeſus lived in Judea; that he taught thoſe doctrines which are delivered to us in the writings of his diſciples; that he was crucified; and that, excluſively of real miracles, the apoſtles propagated his religion in the manner which is related. The acute antagoniſt of Chriſtianity, who ſo long preſided as the literary dictator of a neighbouring country, was careful not only to allow, but even

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to enforce the neceſſity of this admiſſion. He oppoſed not the general hiſtory of Chriſt, but the evidence of his divine authority; and inſtructed his followers to occupy this ground of hoſtility, as being that which alone was tenable. It is plain, indeed, that a contrary poſition would involve, at once, the extinction of all faith in hiſtory; that it would induce us to deny the death of Ceſar, becauſe we diſcredit the prophecy of Artemidorus.

Aſſuming, therefore, with theſe exceptions, the correctneſs of the general hiſtory of the New Teſtament, it will be proper to conſider ſeparately the diſtinct principles of enthuſiaſm and impoſture; to one of which cauſes the eſtabliſhment of every falſe religion muſt neceſſarily be referred; and to manifeſt the truth of Chriſtianity, by ſhowing that the nature of the wiſdom which it diſplays is incompatible with either imputation.

Now all enthuſiaſm ought not to be indiſcriminately reprobated. Often a generous, and ſometimes a noble feeling, it elevates the mind to that lofty ſphere of great and magnanimous conception, which, in reſpect of earthly things, is moſt favourable to heroiſm, and, in reſpect of divine, to piety. And if, as we contend, there have been men, in truth, ſo highly

highly favoured by the Divinity, as to be appointed the peculiar miniſters of his will, the inſtruments by which his gracious diſpenſations have been revealed to the whole human race, we cannot eaſily ſuppoſe but that ſuch men, however cool their natural temperament, muſt, in a limited ſenſe, have neceſſarily become enthuſiaſts in the mighty cauſe committed to them. It cannot but have warmed their hearts, and communicated new vigour to their contemplations.

Enthuſiaſm, however, even in its moſt favourable acceptation, though an admirable, a glorious quality, is not that habit of mind which is beſt ſuited to the diſcovery of truth. It ſeems always to have a tendency to diſturb the balance of reaſon, though a tendency capable of being reſtrained, and, when reſtrained, of the moſt important and active uſefulneſs. The term, alſo, itſelf is uſually and moſt properly employed where ſuch reſtraint is wanting: it commonly indicates a lively fancy, but a confined underſtanding. It is the ordinary characteriſtic of enthuſiaſts to be ardent in purſuits which ſtrongly impreſs the imagination, but of which they little underſtand the real conſequences; to be weak in judgment, though, perhaps, irreſiſtible in energy. Of

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theſe perſons we may ſafely affirm, that, though they have often decided the fortunes, they have never contributed to the wiſdom of mankind. To the praiſe of eloquence in the ſenate, and of bravery in the field, they may be entitled with the ſtricteſt juſtice: but they never have propoſed a juſter theory of philoſophy, nor a ſounder principle in morals.

Among the very wildeſt of ſuch enthuſiaſts muſt Chriſt and his apoſtles, on the ſuppoſition of their having taught a falſe religion, with ſincere conviction of its truth, be neceſſarily ranked. Though we were to allow that one mere man may have thought himſelf the ſon of God, and that a multitude of others, in contradiction to the natural influence of every received opinion, and every ſelfiſh paſſion, deceived themſelves into the belief, that he gave ſight to the blind, and hearing to the deaf; that he raiſed the dead to life, and, at laſt, was raiſed alſo himſelf; yet we may ſtill be ſure that men, who were perſuaded of errors ſo obvious and groſs, could have made no diſcoveries of real truth, could have diſplayed no indications of refined wiſdom, which had eluded the legiſlators of former times, and the philoſophers of their own.

To fix the character of an enthuſiaſt on the author

author of Chriſtianity, it is neceſſary therefore to ſhow, that his creed is poſſeſſed of no ſuperiority over thoſe which exiſted at the time when it was firſt promulgated. A comparative ſuperiority of this religion over preceding or contemporary ſyſtems may be compatible with the charge of falſity. It were idle to contend that Minos or Socrates had exhauſted the wiſdom of unaſſiſted nature; that the progreſs of knowledge was ſtayed at once in the midſt of its career, and that all the acquiſitions of later ages can be aſcribed to revelation alone. Some new impoſtor, it is poſſible to ſuppoſe, might have ſurpaſſed the ingenuity of former times: a lawgiver might have invented a more politic or a more plauſible ſuperſtition than had before exiſted; a philoſopher, though ſtill miſled by many and important prejudices, might have advanced farther than his predeceſſors towards the pure religion of nature; but an enthuſiaſt could have made no progreſs in moral, in legiſlative, or in religious wiſdom. If then it can be proved, that the precepts of Chriſtianity are more pure, its doctrines more ſound, and its ſanctions more powerful, than can be aſſerted of any ſyſtem, either religious or philoſophical, that exiſted at the period of its origin; if its character, while it ſurpaſſes

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the knowledge, be conſonant to the hopes of nature, it has not, it cannot have originated in enthuſiaſm. Every inſtance of wiſdom that can be found in the religion contributes to refute the objection; and ſuch inſtances might immediately be alleged, ſo numerous and deciſive, as to form an irreſiſtible accumulation of moral evidence. But as it is intended to prove, that there exiſts wiſdom in Chriſtianity of ſuch a nature as excludes the ſuppoſition, not of enthuſiaſm alone, but alſo of impoſture, it would be premature to detail either the examples, or the arguments, by which this proof is to be eſtabliſhed, till the nature of each ſuppoſition has been examined.

I proceed then to ſtate, that, if Chriſtianity be an impoſture, the caſe is this.

About eighteen centuries ago, there exiſted in Judea an able and eminent deceiver, whoſe crafty and verſatile ambition excited him, as it has determined others in ancient and modern times, to aſſume the character of a prophet, and promulgate a new religion. His talents and intrepidity enabled him to carry on this arduous impoſture with more than uſual ſucceſs. He availed himſelf adroitly of the old ſuperſtitions of his country; and the period of time, at which he lived, was well calculated to favour

favour his pretenſions. The writings of a revelation, which was believed to have been made from heaven during the earlier ages of the ſtate, ſeemed to intimate that ſome great prophet was now to ariſe. This artful adventurer declared himſelf, accordingly, to be the expected prophet; and multitudes of the vulgar, who are ever prone to ſuperſtitious follies, fell blindly into the deluſion, either duped by his pretended miracles, or captivated by his eloquence. His ambition was baffled, however, by diſaſtrous circumſtances, and he was crucified by the magiſtrates of his country, with the conſent of the Roman governor. His ſect, nevertheleſs, ſtill ſubſiſts, and its numerous adherents perſiſt with unexampled obſtinacy in the aſſertion of their faith.

This, probably, is the light in which Chriſtianity was beheld by the ancient heathens; and modern infidels will hardly contend, that the imputation of impoſture to the author of our religion is, in this ſtatement, inadequately expreſſed. It has been ſuppoſed, indeed, that Jeſus himſelf was the impoſtor, and that he was able to impoſe on his credulous diſciples by the pretence of working miracles, and riſing from the dead; while the language of ſome unbelievers would ſeem to intimate, that they

they imagined a confederacy of fraud. Yet, ſurely, it is an eaſier ſuppoſition that one man, than that many, ſhould have conſented, without the ſtimulus of enthuſiaſm, to live painfully and die miſerably for the maintenance of an impoſture. If, however, the contrary ſuppoſition ſhould be preferred, it may be obſerved, that the arguments by which I attempt to refute the charge of fraud, as directed againſt Chriſt alone, may equally be applied to refute the ſame charge, as directed againſt any number of confederates. No change would be requiſite in the ſecond caſe but a change of terms, and the firſt is here examined directly rather than the ſecond, only becauſe it is the moſt plauſible.

If Chriſt was an impoſtor, there can be no doubt of his ability. To have invented a religion more probable and ſpecious than any other that has ever exiſted; which has enumerated among its ſincere profeſſors men more ſober in judgment, and more cautious in their inquiries into evidence, than can be found among the aſſertors of Pagan or of Mohammedan ſuperſtition; the only religion, the confutation of which is apprehended by infidels themſelves to involve the condemnation

of all others, was the work of no common underſtanding.

Accordingly there may be diſcovered in the original records, and in the early hiſtory of Chriſtianity, the marks of a moſt wiſe and penetrating inſight into the human heart, and into the modes of conciliating a zealous and permanent adherence.

The pure notions of the Deity which were taught by Chriſt were highly neceſſary to procure a favourable and laſting reception for his doctrine among men of cultivated minds. The doctrine of a future ſtate of retribution forms almoſt a neceſſary part of every ſyſtem of popular and profane theology. It was prudent, but at the ſame time it was extremely natural, for the Author of Chriſtianity to introduce it into his own. His wiſdom is obvious, not ſo much in the introduction of the doctrine, as in the ſimplicity with which it is repreſented. A more ignorant or ſhortſighted impoſtor would, it is probable, not only have borrowed the opinions, but have adorned them alſo with the ſuperſtitions of mythology. He would have delighted to enumerate in detail the pleaſures of his viſionary Elyſium, or would have aggravated the horrors of his Tartarus with the

the wheel of Ixion, or the rock of Siſyphus. Chriſt, however, ſeems to have foreſeen, that the groſsneſs of ſuch fabulous repreſentations would not long be able to reſiſt the acuteneſs of ſceptical criticiſm; and he judged wiſely in expreſsly announcing the exiſtence, but in leaving the particular circumſtances and condition of a future ſtate to continue in their natural obſcurity [d].

The mode, alſo, in which he lived, the apparent diſintereſtedneſs of his conduct, the pu-

[d] Modern hiſtory as well as ancient furniſhes numerous examples, which may be compared in this reſpect with that of Chriſt.

Dr. Cotton Mather, in his Hiſt. of New England, (p. 203, &c.) aſſerts, that he had found a Jeſuit's catechiſm in the Iroquois language, which declared of heaven that it is a fair ſoil, where they want neither meat nor clothes: that they do nothing: the fields give corn, beans, pumpkins, and the like, without tillage: the trees are always green, full, and flouriſhing: the ſun ever ſhines, the fruits are never waſted. Their notions of hell are as ſurpriſing: that it is a wretched ſoil: a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, always dark: the devils are ill-ſhaped things, with vizards on, to terrify men: they have nothing to drink there but melted lead: that in hell they eat one another every day; but anon God reſtores the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates. Millar's Propag. of Chriſtianity, vol. ii. p. 306. ed. 1731.

rity of his manners, and the ſtrict though not moroſe impartiality of his precepts, were aptly ſuited to the acquiſition of permanent eſteem. The ſelfiſh impoſtor would have been detected by the cool inquirer, as ſoon as the torrent of enthuſiaſm had ſubſided which helped to facilitate his ſucceſs. The looſe, the unfair, the accommodating caſuiſt would be proved, by undeniable objections, a falſe pretender to divine authority. The pretence, however, of intereſted motives was well avoided by him, who had not where to lay his head: the imputation of worldly compliances could with difficulty be fixed on him, who taught one morality to the rich and to the poor, and of whom it was aſſerted, as a matter of fact, not as a cauſe of eulogy, that with him was no reſpect of perſons.

Such are the characters of ability which are diſtinguiſhable in the author of Chriſtianity, and which, undoubtedly, muſt have contributed much to confirm the progreſs of his religion. It is obvious, that they are all indicative of enlarged, not of temporary policy; none conducive to its immediate eſtabliſhment, though neceſſary to its permanence. To the perſonal greatneſs or the perſonal pleaſure of its

its promulgator, they are not favourable, but repugnant. The general principles, indeed, of our nature extend to all places, and operate throughout all ages. They exiſted in Judea at the time of Chriſt, and we doubt not but that Chriſtianity was conformable to, and congenial with them even there. On the whole, alſo, the efficacy of theſe general principles is ſtronger, becauſe it is more laſting, than that of particular impulſes or motives, which are limited to peculiar caſes. Still their immediate efficacy is not ſo great; in the ſame manner as reaſon, though eventually more powerful, is always leſs violent than prejudice. But an impoſtor, as will be proved, muſt chiefly conſult the immediate efficacy of the principles which he employs. Chriſt, however, conſulted uniformly the general reſult, rather than the immediate; he always rejected partial ſucceſs for permanent, whenever they were inconſiſtent with each other. This is, in brief, the eſſential wiſdom, of which I hope to ſhow, that it infallibly diſtinguiſhes Chriſtianity from every example of impoſture which human experience can ſupply, and is utterly incompatible with the charge.

To explain the arrangement, by which it is intended to prove that it is at leaſt equally in-

compatible with the charge of enthuſiaſm, I muſt recur to what has already been advanced. It was ſeen, that enthuſiaſm, though calculated to ſtimulate exertion, yet tends to diſturb the judgment, and that it admits of leſs wiſdom than is admitted of by impoſture. If, then, it can be proved, that wiſdom ſo conſummate as the wiſdom of Chriſtianity cannot poſſibly be aſcribed even to an impoſtor, we may be certain that it can ſtill leſs be aſcribed to an enthuſiaſt. Conſequently there can be no reſource to the unbeliever for evading arguments of the kind propoſed, by adopting a different theory of unbelief. When driven from the hypotheſis of impoſture, he cannot take refuge in that of enthuſiaſm.

The argument, therefore, which is here propoſed, may be applied to refute both imputations. Should it be deemed of ſufficient ſtrength to obviate the charge of impoſture, it is of ſtill greater force when directed againſt that of enthuſiaſm. This being the caſe, it will be perfectly correct, and it will avoid much needleſs repetition, to direct the general tenour of theſe diſcourſes againſt the charge of impoſture only. If it be ſhown, that arguments drawn from the refined excellence of the wiſdom by which Chriſtianity is diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed, are both ſufficient to diſprove the charge of impoſture, and alſo concluſive with equal or ſtill greater force againſt the charge of enthuſiaſm, the conſequence is irreſiſtible, that the religion muſt be true. Should it be objected, however, that the method, by which it is propoſed to diſprove both imputations by reaſoning that ſeems to militate directly only againſt one, is in any degree inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt accuracy; the objection may be anſwered, by obſerving that this arrangement is adopted, not as neceſſary to the argument, but as the moſt conciſe, and, upon the whole, the moſt perſpicuous mode of treating it. I argue not, that, becauſe a given conduct ſurpaſſes the wiſdom of an impoſtor, it therefore muſt ſurpaſs, neceſſarily, the wiſdom of an enthuſiaſt, till it be proved to exceed not the uſual wiſdom of impoſture only, but the higheſt degree of wiſdom which can poſſibly be attributed to man. Could we imagine caſes where the enthuſiaſt might be ſuppoſed to reaſon more acutely, as well as to act more energetically than the impoſtor, ſtill the propoſed arguments will be valid; becauſe I aſſert not of any wiſdom, that it is too great or too refined for an impoſtor, but on the ſuppoſition, from which I ſhall not ſwerve, that an

impoſtor is capable of attaining the higheſt degrees of great and refined wiſdom, that any man, of whatever character, or guided by whatever principle, can poſſibly attain.

The principles, alſo, of impoſture and of enthuſiaſm, though undoubtedly diſtinct, and frequently oppoſite in themſelves, are yet often ſo intimately united in the ſame occurrence, and even in the ſame perſon, that it would be difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to name any important event in which the one has operated without ſome admixture of the other. Since, then, it is propoſed, not merely to ſtate the plain argument, but alſo to purſue it in connection with ſuch events and illuſtrations as may be ſelected from the religious hiſtory of mankind, the facts, which it may ſeem neceſſary hereafter to detail, will be diſpoſed in whatever order the contiguities of place or time may ſeem moſt naturally to determine, with ſuch comment as the peculiarities of the ſeveral caſes ſhall ſuggeſt. I ſhall deem it unneceſſary to make any farther ſeparation between caſes of impoſture and caſes of enthuſiaſm, than is conſiſtent with the adoption of this arrangement. Maintaining throughout, and endeavouring to enforce the enlightened adaptation of Chriſtianity to the nature and condition

condition of mankind, it will be my object to exhibit its contraſt to the indirect and tranſitory policy of deſigning or miſtaken men. The conduct which has been purſued by the teachers of religions confeſſedly falſe, and by falſe pretenders to the character of Meſſiah, will, in the firſt place, be conſidered. This part of the ſubject, however, will not be dwelt upon minutely, and will be compriſed within the limits of my ſecond diſcourſe. It may then be neceſſary to obviate ſuch objections as can be made to the reality of that diſcrimination between true and falſe religions which has been contended for, and to ſhow that the character attributed to the falſe is not applicable to the true. The remainder of theſe lectures will be directed to illuſtrate the diſtinction, not between Chriſt, and the founders of other religions, but between the conduct of Chriſt, and the conduct of ambitious or enthuſiaſtic Chriſtians; and, at the ſame time, to prove, that the abuſes of the religion by ſome of its profeſſors are not imputable to its author, and that they are alien from its real ſpirit. It will be ſhown, in various examples, that, where Chriſtianity has been taught not with apoſtolic ſincerity, but with hypocritical craft, not for the glory of our Redeemer, but for

for the purpoſes of temporal eſtabliſhment, the inſincerity of the means has correſponded with the ſelfiſhneſs of the end. It will be ſhown, alſo, that, in other inſtances, a compromiſe has been allowed, by men of pure intentions, but of weak and prejudiced minds, between the profeſſion of belief in Chriſt, and the practice, ſometimes of exceſſive ſuperſtition, ſometimes even of abſolute idolatry.

Early, very early in the hiſtory of the Chriſtian church, we find compliances with, and imitations of Pagan ceremonies: conceſſions to exiſting error, the preſent policy of which was undeniable, and of which their authors did not perceive the unhappy conſequences in reſerve. In the early riſe of the power of the Roman Pontiff, a ſimilar policy is to be remarked. It is ſtill more remarkable in the conduct of the Papal court during the period of its after greatneſs. This ground, as having been frequently preoccupied, will be paſſed over with only curſory examination. The hiſtory of the order of the Jeſuits will, in the next and laſt place, be diſcuſſed with more particularity. The tyranny of their conſtitutions, the relaxed morality of their caſuiſts, and the accommodating doctrines of their miſſionaries, will be ſhown to be as remote from the

the holy ſimplicity of him whoſe name they have dared to aſſume [e], as they are uſeful for the purpoſes of private aggrandizement. In the ambition of their European policy, in their toleration of idolatrous ceremonies in Aſia, and in the foundation of an eccleſiaſtical empire in the receſſes of the new world, they will be ſhown to diſcloſe, uniformly, an acute but partial genius, fertile in particular reſources, but not poſſeſſed of laſting wiſdom.

Theſe are the objects of which it is propoſed to treat. And from the arguments which their examination will ſupply, the following concluſion will ariſe.

If Jeſus Chriſt had acted from motives of human ambition, from any ſelfiſh or inſincere principle, he would have adopted a conduct altogether contrary to that which he really purſued. He came forward, not only diſclaiming all human power, but acting alſo in

[e] "Le capitaine de leur compagnie." "On a remarqué "quelque part, que comme les Empereurs Romains "étoient appellés Africains, Germains, &c. non pas "parcequ'ils étoient amis on alliés de ces peuples: de "même les Jeſuites ſont appellés du nom de Jeſus, "parcequ'ils ſont ſes plus grands ennemis." Hiſtoire de l'admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuſcoa, 12mo. à la Haye, 1764. vol. i. p. 164. note.

a manner

a manner the leaſt likely to acquire it: he counteracted all the prejudices of the world, and neglected all its pleaſures. His death, on the ſuppoſition of his being an impoſtor, was the miſcarriage of his ſcheme; and yet it could not have been unforeſeen, becauſe it was the natural conſequence of his policy. It is a fate, perhaps, which many impoſtors have been content to riſk; but Chriſt, though conſummate in his wiſdom, ſeems by his conduct to have advanced ſteadily towards the croſs; and to have choſen it, not as the alternative to be ſubmitted to upon defeat, but as the end and crown of his ambition. He, therefore, was no impoſtor. It is manifeſt, alſo, that he was no enthuſiaſt; for, in that caſe, ſtill leſs than on the ſuppoſition of impoſture, could he have emancipated himſelf from the prejudices which he rejected, or foreſeen the imputations againſt which he provided. The kingdom then which he has eſtabliſhed is not of this world: he was guided by no rule, ſupported by no motive, but what were derived from perfect benevolence, and emanated from truth itſelf.

SERMON II.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT is well known, that the legiſlators of heathen antiquity pretended a divine ſanction to the precepts which they delivered[a]; an undoubted impoſition on mankind, which may be partly referable to deceit, and partly to enthuſiaſm or error; but ſtill an impoſition, which, if we conſider it without prejudice, is deſerving neither of hatred nor contempt. The magiſtrate and the prieſt have ſeemed, indeed, to ſhare the indignation of unbelievers; and it is certain, that an enmity to Chriſt ought conſiſtently to be accompanied by a ſimilar hatred of Zoroaſter and Numa. Chriſtians, alſo, themſelves have often been inclined, injudiciouſly, I think, and unjuſtly,

[a] See Appendix I.

to

to depreſs the merits of the heathen lawgivers and moraliſts, that they might elevate the comparative ſuperiority of Chriſt; a ſuperiority which needs not the depreſſion of other characters to be decidedly felt and acknowledged.

If, however, we are diſpoſed to revere the memory of thoſe firſt authors of human improvement, who reclaimed the ſavage from his wild and wandering exiſtence to the order of ſociety, and the arts of peaceful life [b]; if we are grateful for the eſtabliſhment of civil legiſlation, we ought not to deny the ſame ſuffrage to the teachers of religious doctrines, though imperfect in truth, or deformed by ſuperſtition; ſince it is by the ſanctions of religion only that the reſtraints of law can be effectually ſecured [c].

[b] Cic. de Inv. I. 2.

[c] Ουδε γαρ ἀτερος λογος εχει τι φαυλον ὁν περι Λυκουργου και Νεμα και τοιουτων αλλων ανδρων λεγουσιν, ὡς δυσκαθεκτα και δυσαρεστα πληθη χειρουμενοι, και μεγαλας επιφεροντες ταις πολιτειαις καινοτομιας, προσεποιησαντο την απο του θεου δοξαν αυτοις εκεινοις προς ους εσχηματιζοντο σωτηριον ουσαν. Plutarch. Numa, p. 62. ed. Paris.

"Mais à cet aveuglement près, qu'il faut faire voir "inexcuſable, pourquoi ne loueroit-on pas les légiſlateurs "de l'Orient, auſſi bien que les légiſlateurs Grecs, de ce "qu'ils ſe ſont appliquez à inſpirer aux peuples ce qui "leur

I mean not, therefore, by any obſervations which may be ſuggeſted on the origin of idolatry, or the defects of the heathen religions, to derogate from that honour, which the gratitude of paſt, or the admiration of preſent times, may have beſtowed either on the ſages or the legiſlators of heatheniſm. While I ſtudy to illuſtrate the ſuperior purity of the Chriſtian revelation, I refuſe not to pay willingly that tribute of applauſe, which juſtly may be aſſigned to Gentile wiſdom.

It is evident from profane hiſtory, as well as from the Moſaic records, that idolatry advanced, by gradual progreſs, from the more ſimple to the more complex forms[d]. In the heathen world, while the idea of creation out of nothing, or of abſolute annihilation, ſeems

" leur a paru le plus vertueux, et le plus propre à les " maintenir dans la paix, et dans l'innocence? Pourquoi " les blameroit-on des fables, qu'une longue ſuite de ſiecles " pleins d'ignorance a inventées ſur leur ſujet, et dont " probablement ils n'ont point été les auteurs." Loubere, Du Royaume de Siam, vol. i. p. 430. Amſt. 1691.

[d] " . . . . antiquitate, quæ quo propius aberat ab ortu, et " divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortaſſe, quæ erant vera, " cernebat." Cic. Tuſc. I. §. 12. See Stillingfleet on the Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome, Works, vol. v. p. 25. and Burnet's Arch. p. 26.

anciently

anciently to have been unknown[e], theiſtic philoſophers appear to have held, either that the ſeeds of the elements, poſſeſſing in themſelves a vivifying power, had lain dormant in an original chaos, of which the materials had been organized by the divinity, but not created; or that a portion of the celeſtial mind had been infuſed into brute matter, which would be again reſolved into deity at ſome future period. In conſequence of this belief, a peculiar veneration may have ariſen for the elements, as principles in themſelves eternal and incorruptible, though called into action by the ſupreme God. Hence, probably, the worſhip of the elements, as of the planetary bodies, originated[f]; and hence it was plauſibly defended, as being offered to the divine energy, conſpicuous in the phænomena which they exhibit. Such doctrines may have been figuratively applied, by the more learned theoriſts, to the hiſtory of the creation of the world; and the

[e] Burnet. Archæologia, p. 90. "Quidam Platonico-
"rum creationem ex nihilo receperunt edocti a Chriſtia-
"nis," is the title of a chapter in Moſheim's treatiſe,
"De Studio Ethnicorum Chriſtianos imitandi."

[f] See Ainſworth on Geneſis iv. 26. and Maimonides Miſna, c. i. §. 1, 2, 3. ibi cit.

agency

agency of the elements in that great event may have been dramatically repreſented, both in ſtrong language, and by impreſſive actions[g]. The univerſal principle of deity was to be worſhipped, it probably was thought, with a peculiar reverence, in theſe its moſt glorious manifeſtations[h]. Yet it is certain, that, whenever the diſtance or the immenſity of the ſupreme exiſtence may ſeem to the limited underſtanding of mankind too great for adoration or for prayer[i], whenever the media of created bodies or of created minds are deemed expedient to facilitate an intercourſe with the Creator, whatever caſuiſtical apologies may be invented for ſuch practices[k], their real effect is to induce in the adorers a dependance not on the one God, whoſe exiſtence they profeſs to believe, but on the creatures which they immediately addreſs.

The moſt pardonable, however, of all idolatries, is the worſhip of thoſe great inſtruments

[g] Burnet ubi ſup. p. 36, 37, 38. and the authors there cited.

[h] See Appendix II.

[i] Hyde of Sabaiſm, R. V. P. c. v. p. 128. ed. 1760.

[k] As by Celſus, Porphyry, Julian, and others, cited by Stillingfleet, "On the Idolatry practiſed in the Church "of Rome," Works, v. 28, 29.

of the Deity, ſo ſimple in themſelves, ſo infinitely various in their appearances, of which the univerſe is compoſed; and, particularly, of thoſe ſplendid luminaries, which are created to govern and adorn the viciſſitudes of day and night. The doctrine alſo of the univerſal ſoul diffuſed throughout all ſpace, living and acting in all creation, though, undoubtedly, both dangerous and illuſive [1], though completely irreligious in its neceſſary conſequences, yet operates immediately on the fan-

[1] The nature and conſequences of this doctrine are well explained in the Appendix to Ditton on the Reſurrection. The diſtinction between Chriſtianity and Judaiſm on one hand, and the opinions of enlightened heathens on the other, reſpecting what is termed by Dr. Paley, for want, poſſibly, of a better word, the Perſonality of the Deity, does not ſeem to be generally admitted in its full extent. It is commonly ſuppoſed, that, notwithſtanding the popular errors of Paganiſm, the conviction was uſually prevalent among philoſophers, that there exiſted ſome ſuperior mind, by which the univerſe was created: but it will be found, I believe, on examination, that very much (certainly not the whole) of the authority from which this concluſion has been inferred, is more juſtly applicable to the doctrine, that the world itſelf is God, or, that God is harmony; to which much ſplendid declamation, both of Greek and Latin writers, may be traced. "Deum "namque ire per omnes," &c. &c. &c. See Jortin's Remarks, i. 192. ed. Edin. 1805.

cy

cy as a vaſt and magnificent, and even as a pious conception. It is in the circumſtances of a popular religion, which, though falſe, is thus comparatively ſimple, that enlightened individuals are moſt likely to apprehend or teach a purer notion of the divinity. The accumulated monſters of claſſical mythology may tend to diſguſt a philoſophical underſtanding; the fetters of ſuperſtition may be looſened by their own weight: but the circumſtances which offend the mind with error are not calculated to promote the diſcovery of truth. Contempt and incredulity may often be as unfavourable to the real improvement of the underſtanding, as the contrary failings of ſtupid admiration and ignorant belief.

The Perſian legiſlator, therefore, being leſs expoſed to prejudices either congenial with, or adverſe to ſuperſtition, than ſages who, if not of later date, were of nations more deeply ſunk in error, was favourably circumſtanced both for perſonally acquiring religious knowledge, and for deviſing the moſt unexceptionable method of purifying the ſimple idolatry of the country in which he lived. He, if any one, might naturally have been expected in the excellence and unexceptionableneſs of his wiſdom to rival the author of Chriſtianity.

Yet, though the abſurd miracles which are recounted in the life of Zoroaſter[m], and by means of which his doctrines are ſaid to have been propagated, be conſidered, as they evidently ſeem, the invention of an age ſubſequent to his own, yet, even in that reformation of oriental religion which is attributed to him by his apologiſts, compliances with received uſages are to be diſcovered, clearly inconſiſtent with purity of worſhip. Even in this reformed religion it was directed, that the ceremonies ſhould be obſerved of proſtration, and of adminiſtering oaths before the altar on which the ſacred fire was kindled. It was inculcated as the moſt ſtrict and indiſpenſable of duties, that this fire itſelf ſhould be preſerved from violation. And though theſe obſervances ſhould be conſidered as in themſelves excuſable, becauſe it was taught not that fire poſſeſſed an inherent ſanctity, but only that it was to be regarded as the apt and immediate ſymbol of the Deity[n]; yet, in the circumſtances of Perſia, where the worſhip of fire was confeſſedly the idolatry to be reformed[o],

[m] Hydè, Vet. R. P. cap. 24.
[n] Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 72, 73. fol.
[o] Hyde, cap. 5.

the

the permiſſion of rites ſo capable of perverſion muſt neceſſarily have compromiſed the integrity of the new inſtitute [p]. Theſe rites themſelves muſt have partaken of an idolatrous acceptation, and their inconſiſtency, therefore, with true religion admits not of a doubt.

A flagrant degree alſo of ſuperſtition, which, though it amount not to idolatry, may ſtill be ſafely pronounced incompatible with a pure worſhip, is eaſily to be diſcovered in the records of the Perſic religion. The character, indeed, of ſuperſtition is far leſs certain and preciſe than that of idolatry: it is, in truth, ſo undefined and doubtful, that we ſhould be preſumptuous, were we haſtily to reject whatever may appear to be ſuperſtitious. Yet there are ſome extremes of ſuperſtition, of which, though they involve not the guilt of idolatry, we may venture unequivocally to af-

[p] Deuteronomy iv. 19. Ezekiel viii. 16, 17. I pretend not, however, that Zoroaſter was an impoſtor. The Biſhop of Avranches contends, that he was the ſame with Moſes. Some of the ſimilarities, which are enumerated by that learned Prelate to confirm this opinion, are not altogether productive of very ſenſible conviction. "Ali-"enas facultates concupiſci vetat Zoroaſtres; vetat et "Moſes. Studium legis ſuæ valde commendat Zoro-"aſtres; itidem ut Moſes ſuæ," &c. Demonſtratio Evang. p. 76. fol. Paris, 1679.

firm, that they cannot poſſibly proceed from God. The books attributed to Zoroaſter include extremes which obviouſly are of this kind. They declare, that there exiſt genii or angels preſiding over months and days; that it is the performance of merely poſitive and arbitrary, not moral precepts, which enables the ſoul to paſs with ſafety over the bridge of death; that the power or activity of demons is ſuperior by night to that which they poſſeſs by day; and that the due celebration of certain feſtivals averts the influence of ſuch malignant beings [q]. Theſe ſuperſtitions, to omit a longer enumeration, are manifeſtly unworthy of divine wiſdom, and neceſſarily deſtroy the credit of the religion by which they are recognized. They are indulgences to error at the expence of truth, which, though they may have been dictated by an acute perception of preſent utility, are inconſiſtent with real wiſdom.

I am ſufficiently aware, that the authenticity of the writings to which I have referred has long been queſtioned, and is now almoſt univerſally denied [r]. I muſt obſerve, how-

[q] Sadder, Porta vi. et lxxii.

[r] "Tous les étudians de la litérature Orientale ſavoient "déjà que les miſérables poëmes appelés Saddar et Ardi-

"viraf

ever, that the ſpuriouſneſs of the Sadder or the Zeud, works which deſerve only to be ranked with the goſpel of James, or with the acts of Pilate, though it may change, in ſome reſpects, the nature of the compariſon, yet diminiſhes not the ſtrength of whatever inferences may ariſe in favour of Chriſtianity, from contraſting it with the religion, whether ancient, or comparatively modern, which is now known to us as the Perſic. If at the invaſion of Perſia by the Muſulmans the genuine books of Zoroaſter were loſt, yet the general ſpirit of his religion may have been retained even in the forgeries ſubſtituted in their place[s]. At all events, a leſs imperfect conception of his original doctrines may be derived from theſe

" viraf Nama étoient écrits en langue Perſane moderne " et ſeulement en caracteres anciens." Sir W. Jones. (Lettre à M. Anquetil du Perron. Works, vol. iv. p. 600.) See alſo the fixth Anniverſary Diſcourſe; Works, vol. i. p. 81, &c. where the hiſtory of the ancient Perſic language is ſhortly and ſatisfactorily diſcuſſed.

[s] "It became expedient for the Mubeds (after the " Muſſulman invaſion) to ſupply the loſt or mutilated " works of their legiſlator by new compoſitions, partly " from their imperfect recollection, and partly from ſuch " moral and religious knowledge as they gleaned moſt " probably among the Chriſtians with whom they had " an intercourſe." Ibid. p. 82.

national, though ſecondary repreſentations, than from any of the incorrect notices which Grecian writers can ſupply. It is probable, indeed, that the influence of Chriſtianity, which had ſo beneficial an effect upon the Mohammedan, muſt have operated in a ſimilar manner on this revival of the Perſic religion. The purer ſyſtem muſt have corrected tacitly, even where it was not expreſsly imitated. In this caſe, the religion of Perſia, as it is now repreſented to us, muſt be leſs exceptionable than it would have been found in its ancient documents, had they been preſerved, and the ſuperiority of Chriſt to Zoroaſter muſt be in reality ſtill greater than it appears to be.

They who are verſed in eaſtern learning, without partaking of the exceſſive credulity which ſeems frequently to have attended the proſecution of that ſtudy, may be able to trace with accuracy and intereſt the progreſs of idolatry, from the ſimpler forms in which it firſt exiſted, to the worſhip of deified heroes, and even to the flagrant abſurdities of Egypt [t].

[t] "Sicut apud Ægyptios veteres αξοανοι νηοι ησαν, tem-
"pla ſine idolis erant, ut docet nos Lucianus de Dea Sy-
"ria, ſic priſci Græci templa ſine ſimulachris habuere uſ-
"que ad Cecropem Athenienſium regem primum." Pot-
ter. Arch. Græca. p. 201. apud Gronovium. "Quam
"quidem

From Egypt to Greece, from Greece to Rome, the progreſs of ſuperſtition rapidly advanced. To enter into a particular examination of the religions of claſſical antiquity before the audience which is here aſſembled, would be an unneceſſary and preſumptuous attempt. It is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the ancient ſages always inculcated an external compliance with the received ſuperſtitions of their times. Though the magiſtrate did not invent, though the philoſopher might not believe in [u] the thirty thouſand deities of one poet [x], nor in the war, the diſſoluteneſs and the fraud which diſgrace the popular theology of another, he heſitated not to offer incenſe on the altars of the gods. Some among the ſages of antiquity might be infidels in all religion, ſome might make advances towards a pure

" quidem Theogoniam poſtea Græculi, qui Deos ανθρωπο-
" φυεις fingebant, in deorum ſuorum genealogiam craſſam
" convertere." Burnet. Arch. 38.

[u] For the nature of philoſophical infidelity in the ancient world, ſee Maclaine's Anſwer to Soame Jenyns, p. 53, 54.

[x] Τρις γαρ μυριοι εισιν επι χθονι πολυβοτειρη
Αθανατοι Ζηνος, φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων·
Οι ρα φυλασσουσιν τε δικας, και σχετλια εργα,
Ηερα ἑσσαμενοι, παντη φοιτωντες επ' αιαν.
Heſiod. Op. et Dies, 250. &c.

theiſm,

theiſm, more might be ſceptics, and ſome, perhaps, ſincere idolaters. Some may have expoſed to their ſelect diſciples the fallacies of popular mythology, and inſtructed them in a purer notion of the deity; but they delivered this inſtruction as a branch of philoſophy alone, not as the ground of novel worſhip: nor did they conceive that any but the ſeditious would ever be inclined to diſturb the temporal repoſe of uſeful ſuperſtitions. Religion, in the Gentile world, was uniformly conſidered as a part of civil legiſlation, and ſubſervient to the ends of government. Plato, though he undoubtedly diſbelieved the polytheiſm of Greece, though he directed that the magiſtrates of his imaginary republic ſhould be educated in pure and philoſophical principles, propoſed alſo the public eſtabliſhment of a religion, which recognized, in a great degree, popular ſuperſtitions. Cicero, in his ſpeculative legiſlation, adopted the ſame policy, inculcated, in this reſpect, an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to authority, and permitted not a liberty of worſhip to the citizen even in private [y].

[y] Plato de Rep. lib. ii. iii. de Leg. lib. viii. in init. Cic. de Leg. ii. 8. and as cited in Middleton's Tracts, p. 168, 169. See Appendix III.

Had

Had Chriſt then been an impoſtor, though poſſeſſed of the acuteſt penetration, and the moſt extenſive knowledge, he could not have collected from the experience of the Gentile world even the poſſibility of ſucceſs, in the attempt to promulgate a religion, which pretended to excluſive truth, while it conformed not to exiſting prejudices. Neither philoſophers nor legiſlators had yet engaged in ſo arduous a taſk. There was another enterpriſe, indeed, and of a brilliancy far more ſplendid and flattering, in which the hiſtory of paſt events might have ſuggeſted to him the means, and encouraged the anticipations of ſucceſs. Thoſe perſons who recollect the proneneſs of the Gentile converts to deify the apoſtles, and the readineſs with which new worſhip was adopted, in addition to the ancient ſuperſtitions, both in Italy and Greece, will poſſibly think, that to a deceiver ſo deſigning, and yet ſo patient, ſo really artful, and yet ſo apparently ingenuous, it was far from being impoſſible to acquire the reputation of an inſpired lawgiver, or to become the object of divine worſhip. The new deity who aroſe in Paleſtine might aſpire to the ſame honours which were rendered to the Delian Apollo, or to Thracian Mars, or might aſſume a ſtation

in

in the Roman capitol beſide the temple of Feretrian Jupiter. Such a career of glory would, probably, have appeared ſufficiently ſplendid to an impoſtor. It was all that the boldeſt and the moſt fortunate of men had been able to obtain even in the dark ignorance of former ages; and there exiſted nothing in the records of hiſtory, from which the idea of purſuing a different ſyſtem could poſſibly be collected. The obſervance of this ſyſtem preſuppoſes an acquieſcence in the received idolatries of the Gentile world. The religious toleration, which was admitted by Polytheiſts, and which has been ſo much exaggerated by unbelievers in Chriſtianity, exiſted only becauſe it was perfectly compatible with the polytheiſtic principle, and, indeed, its natural and neceſſary conſequence[z]. If Chriſt had been an impoſtor deſirous to become the object of idolatry, he would not have inculcated the impiety of idol worſhip.

Is it ſuppoſed that his ambition was of a higher nature, that he was of a ſpirit too exalted to be contented with the dignity of an

[z] The Chriſtians accordingly were conſidered Atheiſts by the Gentiles, becauſe they were not idolaters.

apotheoſis,

apotheoſis, and that he aſpired to nothing leſs than the glory of dictating to the world an excluſive religion? In the firſt place, as may be collected from what has been ſaid before, this is not an object which it is likely for an impoſtor to have purſued. Admitting it, however, to have been purſued by Chriſt, he did not take the means which human wiſdom would have ſuggeſted for its accompliſhment. The pure notions of the Deity which he taught might, poſſibly, have been agreeable to philoſophers; but repentance, humility, and remiſſion of ſins were to them, in the expreſſive language of St. Paul, fooliſhneſs. It is not, however, to philoſophers ſo much as to the populace that an impoſtor would have addreſſed himſelf. Human wiſdom, founded upon human experience, and directed by human probabilities, would have led him to prepare the way for an univerſal and excluſive reception of his doctrines among the people, by, at leaſt, a temporary acquieſcence in exiſting eſtabliſhments and ſuperſtition. An impoſtor would not have hoped to ſuperſede the worſhip which was offered in Perſia to the Magian God, without profeſſing, at firſt, a ſuperſtitious reverence for fire. It was by gradual inſinuation among a crowd of deities, that the fabled

fabled Jupiter had been long received as father of the gods in all the countries of Italy and Greece. The reputation of Iſis and Oſiris, during the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity, was ſenſibly extending itſelf beyond the bounds of Egypt, and ſoon after became ſo prevalent at Rome, that the votaries of the ancient worſhip were alarmed at the innovation, and jealous for the injured dignity of their eſtabliſhed gods [a].

The author, however, of our religion, being born a Jew, would ſcarcely have ſo much conſulted the means of recommending himſelf to the Gentile world, as he would have endeavoured to conciliate the ſupport of his own nation. Could it be ſuppoſed (an improbable ſuppoſition [b]) that he was free from national bigotry, he yet could ſcarcely have overlooked the manifeſt advantages which might be ſupplied to an ambitious ſpirit by the received ſuperſtitions of Judea [c]. If he had been wil-

[a] Potter's Antiquities, I. 184. and the authors there cited.

[b] See Maltby's Illuſtrations, 86, 93, &c. 2d edit.

[c] Celſus (apud Orig. p. 66.) objects a defect of policy to Chriſt, in not procuring to himſelf over the minds of his diſciples ſo powerful a dominion as it was in his power to have obtained. Doubtleſs, by refuſing to concur in their

ling to profit by the diſpoſitions of his age and people for the eſtabliſhment of his power, the means that might promote ſucceſs were all abundantly within his reach. The Iſraelites, indignant at the Roman yoke, were ripe for a revolt, and ready in any adventurer to behold the expected prince, who was to be born to them as at this time in their own nation. Fain would they have made Chriſt a king. Had his kingdom been of this world, why did he refuſe the offer? Why did he, if labouring for the introduction of a falſe religion, reject a crown, which would have enabled him to eſtabliſh that religion at once in the manner which would be moſt flattering to an ambitious ſpirit; a crown, which, delivered to him at this time, and in theſe circumſtances, would have included hierarchal as well as regal dignity. The abilities which, in defiance of all preconceived expectations, and even beyond the hopes of his diſciples, have ſo fortified his religion, that the powers of man have not yet prevailed againſt it, would ſurely have been able, would have been able with an eaſy tri-

their national prejudices, he did not act in ſuch a manner as might ſeem calculated to promote his influence, according to the obvious policy of mankind; but their objection is an argument of his ſincerity.

umph,

umph, to reſtore the throne of David. The moſt brilliant part that Jeſus could have acted was the moſt ſafe. Armies devoted to their general, and ſtimulated by religious and patriotic zeal, might have fallen with fury irreſiſtible on the ſurrounding heathen: the religion of Moſes and the prophets might have been impoſed triumphantly on the weſtern world, and Jeruſalem, not Mecca, might have given law to the kingdoms of the eaſt.

Such claims of temporal dominion, and ſuch means of proſecuting them, have uniformly been aſſumed by all other pretenders to the ſacred character of Meſſiah. It was by war that the robber Barchochebas attempted to ſuſtain the appellation and office of a conquering Meſſiah[d]. The reputed magician of Amaria, who in Perſia, during the twelfth century, aſpired to the ſame title, deluded the fanatic multitude which adhered to him to erect the ſtandard of rebellion[e]. They, indeed, who

[d] Baſnage, VI. ix. 10. tranſlated by T. Taylor. fol. 1708. p. 515. See ſect. 12, 15, 20, 21.

[e] David Al-roi, a Perſian, who, it may be obſerved, muſt have appeared at an earlier period of the twelfth century than is aſſigned to him by Jortin. (Jortin's Remarks, ii. 188. Kidder's Meſſias, iii. 403. et ſqq. 8vo. 1700. Benj. Tudelenſis Itinerar. p. 91. et ſqq. Lugd. Bat. 1633.)

have

have adopted this obvious policy of ambition, are too many to be here enumerated. The period of one hundred and fifty years has not yet elapſed, ſince the laſt and moſt conſpicuous of theſe impoſtors began his ſhort but remarkable career. He found the credulous Iſraelites impreſſed with the immediate expectation of ſome extraordinary deliverance. He declared himſelf expreſsly to be the Chriſt: he announced the future grandeur of the earthly monarchy which he was to eſtabliſh; and aſſerted, that the ſtrong hand of the Almighty was even now about to reaſſemble the ſcattered tribes from every quarter of the globe [f]. The anticipations and prophecies of ſucceſs, which proceeded both from himſelf and his confederate, bore an excluſive reference to temporal dominion. It was believed among the Jews, that, at the coming of the Meſſiah, their favoured nation would poſſeſs itſelf of all the riches, and of every goodly heritage, which had for a time been indulged to unbelievers. In this triumphant hope, confident that their day of empire was at hand, they abandoned their habits of induſtry, and

[f] On publioit même, &c. Rocoles, Impoſteurs Inſignes, p. 503. Amſt. 1683. 12mo.

their purſuits of commerce, and waited with breathleſs expectation for the hour of conqueſt. Even when their darling prophet was impriſoned at Conſtantinople by that deſpotic ſovereign whom he had undertaken to dethrone, they ſtill liſtened fondly to the promiſes of a future recovery of Paleſtine; and ſcarcely recovered from their deluſion, when they ſaw him in whom they had truſted abjure the character which he had aſſumed, and embrace the Ottoman faith [g].

Such would have been the attempt of Jeſus, had Jeſus been an impoſtor; ſuch the enthuſiaſm and credulity which he might have moulded to his will. The pretenſion likewiſe to the dignity of Meſſiah was included in that moſt ſucceſsful inſtance of religious impoſture, united with, and made ſubſervient to temporal purpoſes, which is to be found in the hiſtory of Mahometiſm [h]. And the contraſt between the ſhifting artifices, joined with the conſummate addreſs, the ſyſtematic diſſimulation, and intereſted views of the founder of that religion on one ſide, and on the other ſide, the ſimple,

[g] Rocoles, Impoſteurs Inſignes, p. 523, 5. 533, 4. Baſnage, VII. xxiii. 5, &c. See Appendix IV.

[h] Jortin's Remarks, ii. 186.

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the artleſs, the unaſſuming character of Chriſt, who never reſorted to the temporary expedients of ſelfiſh policy, who was great, indeed, in the demonſtration of ſpirit and of power, but who was great without preſumption, and never leſs powerful in reality than impoſing in appearance, has been already drawn with a preciſion which infidelity cannot controvert, and an eloquence which it would be vain to rival[1].

This place, and the particular occaſion on which we are now aſſembled, muſt forcibly recal to the minds of thoſe who hear me the celebrated diſcourſes to which I allude; and I muſt be anticipated in obſerving, that a new attempt to illuſtrate the ſame contraſt would be raſh rather than bold, for it would be neceſſarily fruitleſs. Without dwelling therefore any longer on the hiſtory of falſe religions, I ſhall haſten to notice ſome of the chief corruptions of Chriſtianity itſelf; and, from the obſervations which may be thence ſuggeſted, to deduce the reality and explain the nature of that diſtinction, which has been aſſerted to exiſt between enlarged and partial wiſdom, between thoſe indirect compliances

[1] In the Bampton Lectures for 1784.

which ſolely reſpect preſent intereſts, and that conſiſtent policy which is ſuited to attain permanent ſucceſs. Yet, previouſly to entering on theſe details, it will be neceſſary to pauſe; for the purpoſe of guarding the argument againſt objections; of defending real Chriſtianity from the charge of having ever ſanctioned that miſtaken though artful policy which has been reprobated. This will be the object of my next diſcourſe.

Before I conclude, however, for the preſent, it may be proper to examine the validity of two ſuppoſitions reſpecting the author of our religion, to which, though they include the charge of impoſture, yet obſervations tending to vindicate his character from the charge of temporal ambition cannot be directly applied.

In the firſt place it may be ſaid, that Chriſt voluntarily underwent miſery and death, in order to leave behind him upon earth the reputation of ſanctity. He may be ſaid ſtill to have enjoyed the ſecret ſatisfaction of reflecting, that, though he lived deſpiſed, and was likely to die diſgraced, yet future ages would reverſe the judgment of his contemporaries, and that his renown would never die.

It muſt be confeſſed, that no traces of ſuch a ſpirit are to be found in the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chriſt. Such an hypotheſis ſeems deviſed to remove a preſſing difficulty, without any warrant from the circumſtances of the caſe. So far as hiſtory goes, the author and firſt preachers of Chriſtianity appear to have lived not for themſelves, but for others. No earthly motive but the good of mankind is diſcernible in the character of their labours.

The love of fame, it muſt be allowed, as well as the deſire of riches, power, or pleaſure, has ſometimes prompted individuals to undertakings almoſt more than human. Sometimes too the ſpirit of a leader has been communicated by a reſiſtleſs impulſe to his followers; has encouraged them to move with the ſame alacrity, and to combat equal dangers. Often has the fervour of attachment ſupported the moſt appalling terrors, and advanced with daring ſtep towards an object which it never could attain, or which, if attainable, bore but a ſmall proportion to the toil, the difficulty, and the diſtreſs, by which it was to be purchaſed.

Nevertheleſs, it is not to be forgotten, that paſſive firmneſs is a much nobler inſtance of heroiſm than active valour. The neceſſity of exertion allows the mind no time for ſilent diſquietude, or for brooding anxiouſly upon

itſelf. Gigantic effort is far more common than calm and long-continued perſeverance, and the acclamations of martial glory are an encouragement far more captivating than the ſilent ſelf-congratulations of ſucceſsful fraud.

The natural, the obvious road to poſthumous fame is that, unqueſtionably, which conducts to preſent greatneſs. We perceive, in the age in which we live, that the renunciation of temporal intereſts, which was ſubmitted to by Chriſt, is a ſtriking evidence of his truth. In the age of Chriſt there had exiſted no experience from which the concluſion, which we are now competent to make, could poſſibly be inferred. The character therefore which Chriſt aſſumed, though wiſely adapted to the end that he propoſed, was of a wiſdom which an impoſtor could not have poſſeſſed. The authors of exiſting religions had been kings and princes. To be inveſted with the ſacerdotal office was a temporal dignity of high order. A poor and unaſſuming prophet had never yet been the introducer of a religion, which owed, in any degree, its ultimate greatneſs to the perſonal lowlineſs of its author. It may ſafely be aſſerted, that a general knowledge of human nature could not have authorized an impoſtor to predict, in the inſtance

ſtance of Chriſtianity, the reſult of an unprecedented mode of conduct. It may be aſſerted, that there could be no grounds for him to collect that there exiſted any diſtinction between the craft which might facilitate the immediate eſtabliſhment, and the wiſdom which would enſure the eventual prevalence of his creed.

The other ſuppoſition that was alluded to is, that the author of Chriſtianity, though conſcious of deceit, was actuated by benevolence: influenced by pity for the religious ignorance in which the world was unhappily depreſſed, and by a diſintereſted deſire to benefit mankind by the eſtabliſhment of ſo pious and ſo ſalutary an impoſture.

Yet the ſame means are requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of a benevolent, as for that of an intereſted impoſition. The object deſigned may be different, but the method employed muſt be the ſame. The arguments already adduced, to prove that the policy of the Chriſtian ſyſtem is ſuch as an impoſtor could not have underſtood, are neither diminiſhed nor altered in their validity, however we vary our ſuppoſitions as to the ſecret motives of its author. However he might be incited to action, he could not have deſpiſed the facilities which

would have been offered to the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, by making a politic uſe of exiſting ſuperſtitions, and ingrafting upon the new inſtitution many of their captivating, and what would be deemed innocent formalities. The comparative excellence of Chriſtianity is not confined to its freedom from idolatry. Not only is the conduct of Chriſt unviolated by the admiſſion of this groſs error, but is alſo characterized throughout by the ſtrict maintenance of a refined and unexampled purity. He not only made no compromiſe with falſe gods, but was the firſt who taught mankind a ſpiritual worſhip of the one Almighty Father. To have adopted as eſſential parts of the religion many of the ritual ceremonies, as the burning of incenſe, and the conſecration of votive offerings, which were already practiſed in the Jewiſh and heathen temples, while it avoided the imputation of idolatry, might ſtill, perhaps, have conciliated public approbation. Except in the inſtance of Chriſtianity, the founders of all religions have conſidered rites and ceremonies as operating ſtrongly on the minds of the people; not merely as uſeful to regulate the exerciſes or aſſiſt the influence of devotion, but as holy and indiſpenſable in themſelves. By their

their experience only the author of a new religion could poſſibly be guided. Their example, the examples of Oſiris, of Zoroaſter, of Minos, of Lycurgus, and of Numa; and, in this reſpect, we may add, though without including that venerable prophet in the claſs of thoſe who have falſely aſſumed a divine ſanction, the example alſo of Moſes had ſucceeded ſo well, that a man who choſe the object which they purſued, would have thought it prudent, in this inſtance, to follow, implicitly, their ſteps.

Since then the character of wiſdom which appears in Chriſtianity is too refined for an impoſtor to have poſſeſſed: ſince in this caſe, as was ſeen on a former occaſion, it is equally or ſtill more inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of enthuſiaſm; the conſequence is manifeſt. Chriſt laid claim, undoubtedly, to a divine commiſſion; and, every ſuppoſition of falſity being excluded, he was what he claimed to be, a teacher ſent from God.

SERMON III.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT may poſſibly be argued, that the exiſtence of an unaccommodating ſpirit in Chriſtianity has, in the preceding lectures, been ſomewhat too generally aſſerted. It may be ſaid, that its author and his diſciples do ſeem in ſome reſpects to have been guided by a temporary policy. It may be thought, that I have endeavoured to prove too much: that the characters which I have held to be excluſively applicable to falſe religions may belong alſo to Chriſtianity itſelf: that, conſequently, I have been labouring to eſtabliſh a criterion, either imperfect, by which falſe religions are not in reality to be diſtinguiſhed from the true; or by which the religion that we ſuppoſe true ought juſtly to be condemned together with the falſe. Some perſons, alſo, who may think that

that Chriſtianity is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from confeſſedly falſe religions by the criterion which I have ventured to propoſe, may ſtill doubt whether its admiſſion would not tend to invalidate the truth of Judaiſm. Since, therefore, the truth of the Jewiſh is recognized by the Chriſtian ſyſtem, it muſt be neceſſary for me to prove of both theſe ſyſtems, that they are not liable to the imputations, to which it has been ſhown that falſe religions are obnoxious. It is requiſite, however, in the firſt place, to examine the nature of the poſition to be proved; the extent to which it is neceſſary that Judaiſm and Chriſtianity ſhould be thus vindicated.

Now it is evident, that every degree of compliance with temporary intereſts and exiſting inſtitutions is not expoſed to the objections which may be juſtly raiſed againſt ſuch compliance, for the ſake of preſent or partial advantage, as is productive of eventual injury to the cauſe which it is intended to promote. Wherever particular and general conſequences are at variance, we may expect in the counſels of the divine Being that wiſe adaptation to circumſtances, which may beſt tend to promote the general rather than the particular reſult. The very ſame principle, however,

ſhould

ſhould lead us to affirm, rather than to deny, that a ſimilar adaptation even to particular intereſts and circumſtances may analogouſly be expected, whenever the particular and general intereſts are compatible with each other.

Religion is intended not for perfect beings, but for weak and fallible men. As the work of a wiſe God, it muſt be ſuited, therefore, to human imperfection. The Jewiſh inſtitution was addreſſed to an age and nation probably inferior in moral powers, and certainly in enlightened intellect, to thoſe to which Chriſtianity is propoſed. It bears undoubted marks of a more extenſive indulgence to the paſſions; it appeals leſs forcibly to the reaſon of mankind[a]. Its luſtrations, its ſacrifices, and its pomp were, doubtleſs, accommodations to the weakneſs of human nature[b]. So, alſo, in a leſs degree, may be the poſitive inſtitutions of Chriſtianity[c]. Theſe accommodations to

[a] Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 336.

[b] Limborch. p. 316. Sed ait vir doctiſſimus, &c. See alſo Lettres de quelques Juifs, Portugais, Allemands, et Polonois, à M. de Voltaire, vol. i. Lettre II. §. 9. Paris, 1776.

[c] On the neceſſity of certain accommodations to human weakneſs, and the abuſe of ſuch accommodations in the Romiſh Church, ſee a note of Maclaine; Moſheim, vol. i. p. 203. 4to. (g).

human

human weakneſs may vary with the varying circumſtances of mankind, and it may be impoſſible to determine with preciſion the bounds of their propriety, while, differing only in degree, they are the ſame in kind. Yet one diſtinction, at leaſt, is obvious and indubitable. The true God can never have authorized any of his miniſters to countenance idolatry. On this ground the queſtion may moſt fairly be brought to iſſue: on this ground reſts the main argument, by which it is here endeavoured to confirm the evidence of our religion. If a concurrence in idolatry can juſtly be imputed either to Judaiſm or Chriſtianity, we may be grieved to relinquiſh our only hope of religious conſolation, but we muſt be compelled to abandon their defence; for unleſs the legitimacy of this inference be allowed, it muſt be impoſſible to determine that any religion can be falſe, and, conſequently, that any can be true. If, on the contrary, the teachers of religions confeſſedly falſe, or of Chriſtianity itſelf, either groſsly miſunderſtood, or wilfully violated, have uniformly or generally admitted compliances with idolatry, while the true religion of Moſes or of Chriſt is not implicated in the charge; if all the partial intereſts of man ſhall appear to be conſulted

by

by ſuch compliances, while the counſels of the Deity are diſtinguiſhed no leſs by their purity than their wiſdom, we contend, that this diſtinction in the caſe of theſe two religions is, in proportion to the degree and circumſtances of its exiſtence, an important preſumption, or perhaps a certain argument of their truth.

I do not mean, however, unreſervedly to pronounce, that the internal evidence of a religion is ſolely to be determined by the abſence or the admiſſion of idolatry. It has been obſerved on a former occaſion, that there are ſome exceſſes of ſuperſtition, of which it may ſafely be aſſerted, that, though they be not abſolutely idolatrous, they are too groſs to have received the ſanction of the divinity. Such exceſſes, wherever they can be proved to exiſt, muſt deſtroy, equally with idolatry itſelf, the credit of the religion by which they are avowed. If they are to be found in Chriſtianity, Chriſtianity muſt be incapable of defence. This admiſſion, however, of arguments from the extreme inſtances of ſuperſtition extends not to thoſe particular accommodations to particular circumſtances, the inconſiſtency of which with the divine attributes is merely doubtful. Though we cannot conclude, that, becauſe

becauſe the nature of ſuperſtition is incapable of a preciſe definition, its exiſtence can no where be aſſerted with certainty; yet we ſtill conclude from the ſame premiſes, that uſages may exiſt, of which it is impoſſible to determine preciſely, whether or no they be ſuperſtitious. While it is neceſſary, therefore, to defend both Judaiſm and Chriſtianity from the charge even of the ſlighteſt deviation into idolatry, it is not eſſential to the evidence of their truth, that every difficulty ſhould be ſurmounted, with which their defence againſt the charge of ſuperſtition may poſſibly be attended. Superſtition, when exceſſive, is a deciſive argument againſt the truth of any religion by which it is ſanctioned; but we are ignorant of its exact nature; and not certain, perhaps, that all degrees of it are proſcribed by God, even in thoſe diſpenſations of which he is himſelf the author.

Theſe obſervations, I truſt, prove, that ſome compliances with particular circumſtances may, even in a teacher of religion, be compatible with truth. They prove, alſo, the irrelevancy of thoſe invectives againſt ſuperſtition in general, which are frequently, though moſt unphiloſophically, indulged, without any preciſe conception of the object againſt which they

they are directed. I now proceed to ſhow, firſt, that the Jewiſh, and, ſecondly, that the Chriſtian ſyſtems are not liable to the charge of any idolatrous or objectionable compliances; that they cannot be proved to have ſacrificed the truth of natural religion for any purpoſes of preſent utility; that they have not abandoned the policy of wiſdom for that of craft.

By ſome perſons of learning it has been ſuppoſed, that the Jewiſh religion, though of divine authority, was partly founded on Egyptian rites and ceremonies; that Egyptian ſuperſtitions were to a certain degree permitted by Moſes to the Iſraelites, becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts; and that, probably, without this accommodation to their previous habits, it might have been impoſſible to ſecure their attachment to the new religion [d].

[d] Burnet. Arch. pp. 46, 47. Middleton's Letter to Dr. Waterland, Tracts, p. 156, 157. Beauſobre, Introd. to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, Part I. §. 1. and Spencer de Leg. Hebr. paſſim. The arguments of the very learned writer laſt mentioned, for the propriety of tolerating and adopting Egyptian ſuperſtitions in the Moſaic ritual, are ſome of them of a ſingular nature. He cites in one place the political axiom, Το κακον ευ κειμενον ουκ εςι κινητεον, p. 627, 628. ed. Cant. 1685. and declares, p. 631. In eo enim eluxit ſapientia divina, quod antidotum e veneno faceret, et illis ipſis cæremoniis ad populi

As it would ſeem, however, to be improbable that God, in ſeparating to himſelf a peculiar people, who ſhould preſerve the purity of his worſhip amid the groſs idolatry of ſurrounding Gentiles, ſhould adopt from the idolatry of thoſe very Gentiles the poſitive inſtitutions of his own religion; ſo it has been ſhown, by thoſe who have been moſt converſant in the hiſtory of oriental ceremonies, that the Jewiſh ritual was in fact inſtituted, not in conformity with, but in direct oppoſition to the idolatries of Egypt [c].

Should it ſeem to us that the adoption of a ceremonial for the purpoſe of counteracting idolatry; that the oppoſition of rite to rite, and of cuſtom to cuſtom, was a policy of leſs refinement than the Deity might have been expected to purſue; we may recur to what has been before advanced, that the conduct, which may be obſerved in the divine diſpenſations, is wiſely adapted not only to the purity of God, but alſo to the infirmity of man. God ſpeaks to man through the medium of the ſenſes: religion is intended to operate not

ſui utilitatem, quibus olim Diabolus ad hominum perniciem uteretur.

[c] See Appendix V.

only

only on the underſtanding, but alſo on the heart. No man, probably, however pure, however unprejudiced his reaſon, is ſuperior to the feeling of devotion. Thoſe perſons who, by the theories of ſcepticiſm, may think themſelves fortified againſt ſuperſtition; and thoſe alſo who may have weaned themſelves from popular groſsneſs of conception by long and rational meditation on the God of truth, continue always, in ſome degree, ſubject to the influence of that religious ſentiment, which certain impreſſions on the ſenſes tend manifeſtly to create or ſtrengthen. The powers of intellect alone are inſufficient for the neceſſities of man. Religion, to conſole him in adverſity, to preſerve him in temptation, and to correct the inſolence of proſperity, muſt influence the heart through the ſenſes, as well as the judgment through the underſtanding. It is not, therefore, the introduction of ritual obſervances into religion that is objectionable. "Why ſhould weak minds be deprived of a "reſource which is found neceſſary to the "ſtrongeſt[f]?" Obſervances of this kind are expedient, or, perhaps, indiſpenſable, though they have their bounds, which they ought not

[f] Burke.

to exceed. It may be difficult to eſtabliſh an exact criterion by which to eſtimate them, but this very difficulty ſhould render us cautious in our reaſonings and deciſions on their propriety.

Merely then to have revealed the doctrine of the unity to the Jews, without employing ſubſidiary, and, it may be ſaid, mechanical methods for preſerving and ſtrengthening the conviction of its truth, might have expoſed them, in an imprudent degree, to the danger of relapſing into idolatry. It is apparent from their hiſtory, that they were not entirely ſecured from ſuch relapſe even by their own multitudinous ceremonial. Rites leſs numerous or leſs ſtriking might have been exceedingly inadequate to a purpoſe, which thoſe that really were enacted did not always effectually anſwer. From the imputation of idolatry, however, theſe rites were entirely removed. A rite may, indeed, convey an idolatrous meaning, but only as connected incidentally with ſome falſe object of adoration. The Jews had incenſe, they had perfumes, they had ſacrifices and oblations. All theſe things are capable, indeed, of an idolatrous application, and were applied by the heathens to the adoration of falſe gods; but while offered

fered ſolely to the true God, they could not interfere with ſingleneſs of worſhip. The Jews had no ſimilitudes of man or beaſt or fourfooted things; no ſaints or ſecondary deities were interpoſed between them and the great Jehovah g.

Should theſe conſiderations appear inſufficient to reconcile the apparent imperfection of the Jewiſh ceremonial with the purity of its divine author, it may be reflected farther, that living in an age in which the art of reaſoning is better underſtood, and exerciſed more accurately, we are not competent, from reflection on the ſtructure of our own minds, to determine the propriety of any adaptation to the minds and motives of a people leſs cultivated than ourſelves. We are incompetent judges, likewiſe, of the very meaning of the ceremonies which we queſtion. They were

g The Papiſt repreſents the putting off the ſhoes, "be-"cauſe it was holy ground," which is related of Moſes and Joſhua; the falling down of the Jews before God's footſtool, and their worſhip in the holy of holies, where were the cherubims, propitiatory, and ark; the bowing of Proteſtants at the name of Jeſus, and their kneeling at the Euchariſt, and before the altar, as being ceremonies of the ſame nature with the honorary adoration of ſaints, which is authorized by the Church of Rome. Theſe ceremonies, however, are vindicated by Stillingfleet, "Of

intended probably in many cases, in which they are the least easy to be explained, not so much for offices of worship, as for a method of instruction [h]. Much gesticulation is always to be observed among people who possess not a copious language, and is necessary, perhaps, to determine the meaning of such words as bear numerous significations. At the period of the Mosaic dispensation, written language was doubtless in its infancy: the language which was spoken must consequently, have been imperfect, as we know, indeed, to have been the case with the more ancient dialects of the East [i]. What may be denominated the language of action must therefore have borne a considerable share in the general converse of mankind, particularly in those warmer climates, where the manners as well as the feelings are more impassioned, than they, who

"the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome," Works, vol. v. p. 40, 41.

[h] Lettres de quelques Juifs, P. III. l. vi. §. 1.

[i] Powell's ninth Discourse, in the beginning. Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 16, 17. "We should also observe "how actions were used in the East instead of words; "and were expressive not only of the present, but also of "the future." Ibid. p. 80. See also Warburton, Div. Leg. book iv. §. 4. Works, vol. ii. p. 405, &c. and book ix. Works, vol. iii. p. 659.

have

have no intercourſe but with the inhabitants of northern Europe, can eaſily conceive. Even at this comparatively late period in the hiſtory of man; even ſince the powers of language have been ſo far developed, that there is ſcarcely any meaning which the underſtanding can apprehend, but what oral expreſſion may communicate, or written characters denote; even now, the language of action is often uſed, and eaſily underſtood. To the Jews there may have been an eſpecial propriety and meaning in propoſing a viſible religion. Their habits had probably enabled them to apprehend the meaning intended to be conveyed by ritual ordinances with an accuracy and quickneſs which we cannot poſſibly poſſeſs. The eye is in itſelf a medium of knowledge not leſs unexceptionable than the ear; and the types ſet before the Jews, not as objects of adoration, but as means of knowledge, may have been as little liable to miſconſtruction as the audible recitation of the decalogue. The language of ceremonies may have had no remote affinity to the language of hieroglyphics. The Egyptian education of the Jews may have facilitated their knowledge of its import, while that import, however it was

expreſſed, might oppoſe the idolatry of Egypt[k].

Inſtances can be produced, in which a certain meaning, that may eaſily be enunciated in words, was doubtleſs intended to be conveyed by this typical or ceremonial language. The ablutions of the Moſaic law were indicative of the command to obſerve inward purity; and muſt have communicated this meaning to the apprehenſion of the Jews at the period of its delivery, with a more lively connection between the type and the thing ſignified, than we ſhould recognize at preſent, were not the ſame ſymbol rendered familiar to us by the ſimilar Chriſtian inſtitution of baptiſm. The white veſtments of the prieſts were interpreted to denote that ſpotleſs ſincerity with which the worſhipper ſhould approach the temple of his God. The burning

[k] Warburton, Div. Leg. b. iv. §. 6. contends with his uſual acuteneſs, that "the laws in compliance" (with Egyptian ceremonies of innocent tendency) "were a "conſequence of the laws in oppoſition" (to thoſe of an idolatrous nature), and proceeds to diſcuſs at length the reſpective opinions of Spencer and Witſius. Works, vol. ii. p. 602. See Lettres de quelques Juifs, Part. II. Lettre ii. §. 8. p. 212. Les autres, &c.

of

of incenſe was to the Jews, no doubt, the immediate ſymbol of acceptable prayer [l].

The ſprinkling of blood upon the unclean, and of the water of ſeparation [m], which we now, interpreting by the event, ſuppoſe to have had a general reference to the future bloodſhedding and mediation of the Saviour, might be adapted to excite a more definite expectation in thoſe for whom they were appointed, than the ſame dark ceremonies would convey to us. In ſhort, a ritual language was accommodated to the Jews with a propriety which may have rendered edifying and impreſſive to them thoſe paſſages of their ceremonial law, which to us ſeem inexplicable or ſuperſtitious.

The reaſonableneſs of reſorting to ſuch an interpretation of the Jewiſh rites may be inferred from the ſimilar adaptation of parabolical and viſual elucidations to the diſcloſure of other facts unconnected with religious worſhip. The exaltation of Joſeph above his family is intimated by his ſheaf ſtanding upright, and the eleven ſheaves of his brethren

[l] Beauſobre and L'Enfant, Introd. to the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. "Of the Holy Things," and "Of "Perfumes."

[m] Numbers xix.

ſtanding

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

of Phenicia and Arabia, ſeem to have bounded their inquiries to the ſtudy of traditionary opinions. Of theſe they ſelected what they thought the moſt probable or pleaſing, but they did not attempt to reaſon upon the Deity or the creation from the frame and phænomena of the univerſe [p]. The Jews, more fortunate than the other nations of the Eaſt from their poſſeſſion of the Moſaic writings, had preſerved their implicit reverence for and excluſive reliance upon authority with, perhaps, ſtill greater conſtancy. Yet there are reaſons for believing, that, at the time of the origin of Chriſtianity, the cultivation of the reaſoning faculties, even in Judea itſelf, had been commenced: it is certain that in Greece and Italy it had been long and vigorouſly purſued. During modern ages it has been revived with an unprecedented ſucceſs; and, both in its commencement and its progreſs, has always tended to promote a pure and accurate conception of the Deity.

It is, however, to all countries, and to modern as well as to ancient times, that Chriſtianity is addreſſed. If Chriſtians, then, in general, poſſeſs clearer notions of God's truth

[p] Burnet. Arch. p. 55.

and

and purity than the Jews poſſeſſed, it may naturally be inferred that a greater purity of worſhip is expected from them. But man, even now, is far too imperfect to be able to render to his Creator a worſhip ſtrictly pure, a homage genuine and without alloy. There is no doubt but that Chriſtianity itſelf is accommodated to the manifold infirmities of our nature. If a certain degree of imperfection was permitted among the Jews, it is probable that a leſs degree may be tolerated among Chriſtians; and plauſible reaſons may be aſſigned for the appointment of uſages, which, though they do not conſtitute, are uſeful to promote the ſpirit of religion [q]. Not only the knowledge of the Deity, before exiſting among the diſciples of Moſes, was to be retained and purified under the Chriſtian ſyſtem, but alſo their ceremonial attachments and local ſanctities were to be compenſated. The mere revelation of theoretical theology and of a future ſtate might have proved inadequate to the neceſſities of mankind. The knowledge, which may be ſufficient to determine the judgment, is not always able to influence the will; and

[q] See Biſhop Butler's Charge to the Clergy of Durham in 1751, p. 394, &c. Halifax's ed. of the Analogy, 1802.

it

it is manifeſt, that the object of religion is not anſwered, unleſs motives to virtue be added to principles of truth.

They, however, who may have been induced to admit the purity of the Jewiſh, are not likely to object to the original blameleſſneſs of the Chriſtian church. Yet it may not be ſuperfluous to indulge on this ſubject in ſome particular reflections.

Now the poſitive ordinances of our Lord, though they have been corrupted in the moſt flagrant manner by Romiſh ſuperſtition, exhibit not, in themſelves, the remoteſt ſemblance of an idolatrous inſtitution. To the command which was enjoined to his diſciples at the ſolemn paſſover which preceded the crucifixion, "Take, eat; this is my body which is given "for you," it might have been ſuppoſed that the latter part of the ſame ſentence, "Do this "in remembrance of me," would have attached ſo definite a meaning as entirely to preclude the adoration of the ſacramental elements.

Certain obſcure charges of diſſimulation againſt the holy founder of our religion, which it has been pretended that the hiſtory of the canonical evangeliſts will ſupply, are too abſurd, and, if the queſtion were leſs important

ant, would be too ludicrous to need refutation[r]. Of theſe I truſt that I may be permitted to omit farther mention. The toleration of Judaiſm has furniſhed a more conſiderable objection againſt the uniform purity of the firſt Chriſtian teachers; an objection certainly not the leſs worthy of attention, becauſe it has been borrowed by the Deiſt from the Jew. It has been ſaid, that, if Chriſtianity were intended to ſuperſede Judaiſm, its author was guilty of an inconſiſtent conduct in complying with the forms of a religion which he came to abrogate: that it was irrational for any perſon to continue an adherence to the figure, who believed that the body ſignified by it was come: that it was either groſs hypocriſy, or an impious mockery of things which had been once moſt ſacred, for thoſe to practiſe the uſages of the Moſaic law, who conſidered them to be vain and uſeleſs: that they who conſidered them to be efficacious, could not really believe in Chriſtianity, ſince in ſuch belief the conviction was neceſſarily included,

[r] One of the principal of theſe charges is the *diſſimulation* of Chriſt at Emmaus. "And he made as though he "would have gone further." Luke xxiv. 28. Middleton's Tracts, p. 306.

that

that the Moſaic diſpenſation was accompliſhed and fulfilled by Chriſt [s].

Animadverſions, alſo, on the conduct of the Apoſtles in this reſpect have been made by Chriſtians themſelves with a freedom which has not always been confined within the limits of decency and reſpect [t]. Yet the ardent expreſſion of St. Paul in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, "that he was made all things to "all men, that he might by all means ſave "ſome [u]," can in no way indicate that the zeal which it teſtifies tranſgreſſed the bounds of knowledge. The ſeparation of St. Peter from the communion of the Gentiles, becauſe he feared them which were of the circumciſion [x], on which account he was withſtood by Paul at Antioch; the circumciſion of Timothy [y]; and the purification according to the rites of the Jewiſh religion, which was obſerved at Jeruſalem by St. Paul himſelf after his return from Macedonia [z], ſeem to be the

[s] Orobio, Amica Collatio, p. 60, 61. and Limborch's Reply, p. 203.

[t] Confeſſional, third ed. p. 383, 384.

[u] 1 Cor. ix. 22. Middleton, ubi ſupra.

[x] Gal. ii. 12.

[y] Acts xvi. 3.

[z] Acts xxi. 26.

grounds

grounds on which this charge of indirect compliances in the Apoſtles has principally been founded. It has, however, been ſatisfactorily proved, that the mother of Timothy being a Jeweſs, he was conſidered by the Jews as bound by the condition of his birth to keep the law [a]; and theſe united facts, as illuſtrated by the whole tenour of the apoſtolical hiſtory, can only warrant the concluſion, that the apoſtles permitted the Jews to continue their adherence to the Moſaic law under the profeſ-

[a] Wetſtein on Acts xvi. 1—13. "Partus ſequitur ven-
" trem," &c.

" Non enim, ut nonnulli putant, ex eadem ſimulatione
" etiam Paulus apoſtolus aut Timotheum circumcidit, aut
" ipſe quædam ritu Judaico ſacramenta celebravit: ſed ea
" illa libertate ſententiæ ſuæ, qua prædicavit nec genti-
" bus prodeſſe circumciſionem, nec Judæis obeſſe. Ideo-
" que et Timotheus, cum in præputio vocatus eſſet, tamen
" quia de Judæa matre ortus erat, et oſtendere cognatis
" ſuis debebat ad eos lucrifaciendos, non hoc ſe didiciſſe
" in diſciplina Chriſtiana, ut illa ſacramenta quæ legis
" veteris eſſent abominaretur, circumciſus eſt ab Apoſtolo:
" ut hoc modo demonſtrarent Judæis, non ideo gentes
" non ea ſuſcipere, quia mala ſunt, et pernicioſe a patribus
" obſervata, ſed quia jam ſaluti non neceſſaria poſt adven-
" tum tanti ſacramenti, quod per tam longa tempora tota
" vetus illa ſcriptura propheticis figurationibus prædica-
" vit." Auguſtinus, de Mendacio, cap. 8. See Grotius on the ninth chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ver. 19—22.

ſion

ſion of Chriſtianity, as they alſo themſelves adhered to it, after the example which had been ſet by Chriſt. They retained, no doubt, in part, a national veneration for its ſanctity; and, even after they became fully enlightened reſpecting the principles of Chriſtianity, they were ſtill deſirous to conſult, in this reſpect, the prejudices of the Jews, by a conformity, not, in their own apprehenſion, in any degree meritorious, but indifferent.

Now it is injudicious, as well as unneceſſary, to claim for every part of the conduct of the apoſtles the praiſe of an exact propriety. It is not to be contended, that they always acted under the influence of a continued inſpiration. For Chriſt alone ſeems to have been reſerved by the divine appointment the prerogative of an unerring judgment, equally as of a ſinleſs life. If Paul withſtood Peter to the face, either Peter muſt have been incorrect, or Paul miſtaken. The preciſe limits of a lawful accommodation to Jewiſh principles and opinions it may be impoſſible correctly to define; and where the apoſtles differed, the moſt adventurous theologian of modern times can ſcarcely venture to decide.

Unqueſtionably however, if Judaiſm have been ſhown not to countenance either idolatry

or groſs ſuperſtition, Chriſtianity cannot juſtly be liable to the charge, merely becauſe it recognizes the truth, and tolerates the ceremonies of that religion. Nor is it a fair preſumption, that, becauſe the Chriſtian was intended to ſuperſede the Jewiſh ſyſtem, the teachers of Chriſtianity were bound to eradicate every fibre of their old attachments, before they could admit the Jews to be ſincere profeſſors of the faith. It may have been intended, that not the preaching, nor even the death of the Redeemer, but rather the deſtruction of Jeruſalem [b], by which ſo many and ſuch important prophecies were fulfilled, ſhould be the ſignal for the extinction of the Moſaic diſpenſation [c]. The rending of the

[b] Limborch. 203.

[c] It may be worthy of obſervation, that the firſt fifteen Chriſtian biſhops of Jeruſalem, reſpecting whom it has been noticed that they were circumciſed Jews, (Gibbon, chap. xv. p. 544.) all lived before the final deſtruction of that city by Hadrian. "Ita tum primum Marcus ex "gentibus, apud Hieroſolymam, epiſcopus fuit." Sulp. Sev. Sac. Hiſt. lib. ii. §. 45. See alſo on this ſubject the Chronicon of Euſebius on the eighth and nineteenth years of Hadrian. Joſeph Scaliger, in his Animadverſions on the Chronicon, (p. 212, 216. ed. 1658.) queſtions the fact of this deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and ſuppoſes the deſtruction by Titus to have been complete; but I am not convinced by his reaſoning.

veil

veil may have preſaged, the demolition of the temple may have completed its final period, and the ſame providence, which ordained the gradual progreſs of the faith, may have ordained, among the Jewiſh converts, a gradual emancipation from national and local prejudices [d]. Imperfect knowledge is not inconſiſtent with the poſſeſſion of a ſaving faith. The moving ſupplication which was made to Jeſus, "Lord, I believe, help thou mine un-" belief," may reaſonably be addreſſed to the divine being by the imperfect faculties of mankind.

Thus the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian religions are equally removed from the imputation of idolatry. It is the ſuperior excellence of the latter, that it may juſtly boaſt, not the worſhip of a purer being, but a purer mode of wor-

[d] "Nec a Judæis exacta ſuæ legis abdicatione, nec a "Gentibus fide plena et omnibus numeris abſoluta." Burnet. de Fide, p. 117. "Nec Apoſtoli unquam docu-" erunt, ne ipſe apoſtolus Paulus, tantus libertatis Chriſti-" anæ patronus, illicitum eſſe fidelibus ex Judæis Mo-" ſaicæ legis ritus obſervare. Quinetiam ipſe Timo-" theum" &c. Limborch. p. 24. See alſo Hartley's Obſ. on Man, II. p. 377. firſt ed. The very comprehenſive reaſoner laſt referred to does not ſeem, however, to have thoroughly conſidered the whole of this delicate ſubject.

ſhip. The rites of the Moſaic law had no connection with falſe deities, but ſtill may have abſorbed a conſiderable degree of that attention and reſpect, which we are taught by Chriſtianity to devote to God in ſpirit and in truth. The breach of the ceremonial was in many inſtances more ſeverely puniſhed among the Jews than the violation of the moral law[e], while the poſitive inſtitutions of Chriſtianity are univerſally ſubſervient to the eſſential ſpirit of religion.

Eminent alſo as is the character of the Jewiſh lawgiver, both for public virtue and perſonal diſintereſtedneſs, the character of Chriſt is too ſuperior to require or admit compariſon. The zeal of Moſes was national; the benevolence of Chriſt is univerſal: Moſes was the deliverer of Iſrael, but Chriſt the ſaviour of mankind. The preſumptions likewiſe, by which the founders of both religions may be vindicated from any ſiniſter imputation, are far more numerous and ſtriking in the hiſtory of Chriſt, than in that of Moſes. The Jewiſh worſhip was completely united with the civil conſtitution of the Jews. Could Moſes and Aaron be ſuppoſed impoſtors, their conduct, the one

[e] Orobio, p. 11.

aſſuming

aſſuming the temporal, and the other the ſpiritual ſupremacy in the ſtate, might ſeem naturally to proceed from the common principles of ambition [f]. Chriſt, to ſpeak with preciſion, is no legiſlator [g]. Real Chriſtianity may conſiſt with any form of civil polity whatever. It interferes not, nor did it interfere at its firſt origin, either to weaken or confirm the authority of exiſting magiſtracies, unleſs by the indirect operation of its moral and religious doctrines. As ſoon as a certain eſtabliſhment became neceſſary to its propagation, an eſtabliſhment was formed for the ſake of the religion: it is manifeſt that the religion was not deviſed with reference to the eſtabliſhment [h].

Theſe obſervations, I truſt, cannot be ſo far miſinterpreted, as to be ſuſpected of the re-

[f] Lardner, Works, vol. x. p. 541, 542.

[g] "He expreſsly declined the exerciſe of all temporal "authority upon another occaſion; 'Man, who made me 'a judge or a divider over you?' Luke xii. 14. But he "readily availed himſelf of the application as a religious "and moral inſtructor." Maltby, p. 83. note c.

[h] That the *liberty* of the Chriſtian religion would never have been deviſed by an impoſtor, may be argued from the advice of Mæcenas to Auguſtus, that he ſhould allow of no religious toleration: ἀπεχ ἠκιςα μοναρχιᾳ συμφερει. Dion. Caſſius. Warburton, Div. Leg. Works, vol. i. p. 450.

moteſt tendency to depreciate the evidence of Judaiſm. It is, indeed, undoubtedly their intent to ſhow, that Judaiſm in its internal evidence is far ſurpaſſed by Chriſtianity; but this difference between Moſes and Chriſt in the ſtrength of ſome preſumptions, by which the truth of their reſpective miſſions is to be determined, may have been compenſated, in the whole, or in part, by evidence of another kind. The miracles of Chriſt, particularly his reſurrection, were manifeſted not to all the people, but to choſen witneſſes; while the law of Moſes was declared in thunder from Mount Sinai to the whole nation of the Jews. The truth of the Moſaic inſtitution was thus impreſſed ſenſibly on the Iſraelites; while it was expected, that the truth of the Chriſtian religion ſhould be inferred from reaſoning principles, by the great majority of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. By comparing the ceremonial of the Jews with the ſimple rites of Chriſtianity, an analogous difference may be traced in the internal evidence of the two religions, as preſented to ſubſequent inquirers; and the obſervation may be thus confirmed, that either diſpenſation was wiſely adapted to the circumſtances in which it was promulged. From the ſuperiority, however, of Chriſtianity to Judaiſm,

daiſm, or from the fact that the founders of the more perfect recognized the truth, and, to a certain degree, adhered to the forms of the more imperfect ſyſtem, no concluſion can be derived inconſiſtent with the general principle of theſe diſcourſes. The principle originally laid down was this: that, while it is characteriſtic of the authors of falſe religions to ſacrifice for temporary intereſts the means of laſting ſucceſs, the religion of Chriſt is diſtinguiſhed by unexceptionable wiſdom; that its adaptation to the nature and motives of mankind is in no inſtance violated by that ſelfiſh craft, which, though uſeful for a time, is always ultimately prejudicial.

We now have diſpoſed of the objections which ſeemed likely to be made to the adoption of this criterion; we have ſeen, that the partial accommodation to circumſtances, which has been admitted in the religions of Moſes or of Chriſt, as taught by them originally, cannot be proved inconſiſtent with truth and real policy; that it is, therefore, ſufficiently diſcriminated from thoſe other accommodations which have been adduced from religions confeſſedly falſe. Conſequently, the original poſition is diſturbed by no exception which either Judaiſm or Chriſtianity can ſupply.

SERMON IV.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

WE have ſeen that the wiſdom conſpicuous in the character of Chriſtianity, and in the means by which it was firſt promoted, is unſullied by the admiſſion of temporary artifice, or inſincere policy. We have ſeen that the conduct of its author was altogether contrary to ſuch conduct, as a perſon not acting under a divine commiſſion would have been able to contrive, or willing to purſue; and that the hiſtory, both of heathen lawgivers, and of pretended Meſſiahs, illuſtrates and confirms the diſtinction which has been contended for between this religion, and thoſe which, confeſſedly, are falſe.

It is now intended to contraſt the religion originally taught by Chriſt with certain examples

ples of that corrupted Chriſtianity, which has ſince been ſubſtituted in its place. The abuſes which have been impoſed upon mankind under the holy name of our Redeemer have, unhappily, been ſcarcely leſs flagrant than thoſe of Paganiſm itſelf. But, though it muſt be painful to contemplate inſtances in which the venerated name of Jeſus has been profaned by a miſtaken zeal, or proſtituted to worldly purpoſes, yet ſuch an enquiry will not be without its uſe. We thus may learn to prove, that, though deſigning eccleſiaſtics have broken all laws both of moral and religious obligation, and though ſincere believers have contributed to aggravate the corruptions of our faith, yet that its true character, and the hiſtory of Chriſt himſelf, afford not a colourable pretext to their impiety. Thus we may exhibit in a ſtrong relief the injuſtice of that common error which imputes to Chriſtianity the vices and failings of its miniſters: we may procure an impartial conſideration for its evidence, and acquire, as I conceive, an irrefragable preſumption of its truth.

There is a known and manifeſt oppoſition in the apoſtolical writings to the incipient accommodation of Chriſtian doctrines to Oriental

or

or Platonic theories; and it is certain, therefore, that, even at the early period when the church was perſonally ſuperintended by the firſt diſciples of our Lord, the purity of the faith was contaminated by the ſeeds of ſuperſtition. The firſt corruptions of Chriſtianity proceeded, in ſome caſes, from the arrogant but common practice of interpreting religion by philoſophical ſyſtems, and, in others, from a pious wiſh to elevate the opinion of its excellence. But I propoſe not to trace the hiſtory of error through the various gradations from its origin to its maturity. The limits, which I am unwilling that this part of my diſcourſes ſhould exceed, render it neceſſary that I ſhould reſtrict myſelf to the notice of a few only among the more ſtriking inſtances of that ſtudied conformity to external circumſtances which, throughout the whole progreſs of eccleſiaſtical corruptions, from their commencement to their conſummation in the Papacy, has been indulged by Chriſtian teachers.

It is to be remarked, then, that the heathen maxim, that deceit is juſtifiable in matters of religion, was adopted even by the moſt eſtimable of the fathers: by ſome during the third,

third, and by many during the fourth and fifth centuries[a]. The sacraments of Baptism, and of the Eucharist, were taught to assume a likeness to the mysteries of Eleusis, and the

[a] Origen, Ambrose, Hilary, Augustin, Gregory Naz. Jerom, Chrysostom, &c. Νὲς μὲν ἐν Βιλοσοφίας ἐπιστῆς ὢν τ' ἀληθὲς τυγχάρα τῇ χρῶμα τε ψευδοῦσθαι· ἀναλογὸν γὰρ ἐστι φῶς πρὸς ἀληθείαν, καὶ ὄμμα πρὸς δόμαν. ἡ ἐν ὀφθαλμὸς ὡς κακὸν ἂν ἀπολαυσαιεν ἀπλῆστε ὄντος, καὶ ἡ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοῦσι τὸ σκότος ὀφελιμώτερον· ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ὄφελος ἀνεὶ τιθέμαι δόμῳ, καὶ βλαβερὸν τὴν ἀληθείαν τοὺς ἐκ ἰχνοῦσιν ἐνατενοῦσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐνέργειαν. Synesius, Ep. cv. p. 249. Opp. Paris, 1631. See Mosheim de turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia, cap. 46, 47. and Jortin's Remarks, ii. 275. and App. No. III.

To the references here made for the purpose of establishing a charge of error against the Christian fathers, I cannot but subjoin the intreaty that I may not be suspected of any disrespect for them in general. I am afraid that the very useful and learned work of Dr. Jortin, to which I have above referred, may perhaps have lessened the repute of these writers, in an age which certainly is not inclined to estimate them more highly than it ought. Their mistakes, no doubt, are gross and indefensible, as is fully shown in the Remarks on Ecclesiastical History: but there is too apparent, though, I question not, an undesigned tendency in that valuable work to encourage a contemptible opinion of men who cannot justly be despised. It is evident, however, that it is with their errors only, not their excellencies, that the argument of these lectures is concerned. See Hey's Lectures, i. 114. 117.

existence

exiſtence was profeſſed of a double doctrine, partly avowed, and public; and partly confined to the initiated few [b].

Nothing could be more allowable, or proper, than that the memory of departed ſaints and martyrs ſhould be regarded with gratitude by Chriſtians, particularly when the new religion had, at laſt, acquired the protection of the civil power, and the ſecurity which was thus obtained might be referred, and, in ſome degree, with juſtice, to their exertions, or conſtancy [c]. During the perſecutions of the firſt centuries, ſurviving friends had been accuſtomed to collect diligently the remains of perſons eminent on account of their virtues, or their ſufferings, for the purpoſe of a decent ſepulture. As they cheriſhed their memory, ſo they frequented their tombs to awaken feelings of pious aſſociation, to invigorate the ſincerity or excite the ſorrows of repentance. But the bounds of a juſt veneration for the deceaſed were now tranſgreſſed: their tutelary power was conſidered as locally preſent, or ſpecially exerted at the repoſitory of their relicks [d]: their duſt was inveſted with an ideal ſanctity,

[b] See Appendix VII.

[c] Jortin's Remarks, ii. p. 6—12.

[d] Burnet on the Articles, p. 244. ed. fol. 1699.

and

and regarded as the moſt valuable of all poſſeſſions. Even at the commencement of the ſecond century the bones of St. Ignatius had been conveyed from Rome to Antioch, by the zealous care of his diſciples.[e] On the temporal eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, ſimilar tranſportations were practiſed to a moſt inordinate exceſs. It was believed that the hidden remains even of the earlieſt martyrs were diſcovered in ſupernatural viſions, and that miracles were performed by their inſtrumentality; while churches unconſecrated by their preſence were ſcarcely deemed efficient to the purpoſes of religion[f].

The natural conſequence of this ſuperſtition was a tranſition from love to confidence, from veneration to worſhip. Prayers were, in the firſt place, offered to God, in behalf of the deceaſed ſaints, according to the notion of a double reſurrection, that, on account of their

[e] Beauſobre, Hiſt. de Manicheiſme, vol. ii. p. 642.

[f] "Si le déluge n'avoit pas arrêté ces heureuſes découvertes, le monde auroit eu des reliques d'Adam et d'Abel, et au moins quelque vêtement d'Enoch, comme on crut avoir le livre qui contenoit ſes révélations et ſa prédication." Ibid. pp. 647, 648. See alſo pp. 646, 649, and 674. Many inſtances of ſimilar tranſlations are to be found in Paganiſm.

earthly

earthly merits, he would admit them to the enjoyment of beatitude before the day of final judgment. He was next implored, in conſideration of the ſame merits, to accept their interceſſion for thoſe who lingered ſtill in life, engaged in combating adverſity, or in reſiſting the allurements of pleaſure. Theſe prayers to God were next transferred even to the ſaints themſelves. Offerings were made, and vows addreſſed, under the belief of their power and protection: and the monuments of their death became altars teſtifying the belief of their living interceſſion and agency in heaven[g].

The mode, in which this corruption was introduced into the pure religion of Chriſt, bears evident marks of an accommodation to particular circumſtances. Here, as in other caſes, miſtaken piety may have dictated the firſt compliances[h]. Perſons, who reflected that the popular deities of mythology had been originally mere men, were indignant that the heroes of Chriſtianity ſhould be leſs regarded for paſſive

[g] Theodoret. cited ibid. p. 667. Monteſquieu, Grandeur et Décadence de l'Empire Rom. chap. 22.

[h] Moſheim, vol. i. 4to. pp. 100, 101.

fortitude,

fortitude, than the gods or demigods of Paganiſm for brilliant achievements, or active valour. To avert ſo glaring an injuſtice, they adopted, in honour of martyrs, the preciſe ceremonies with which the heathen deities were worſhipped[i]. They profeſſed, indeed, that the veneration thus teſtified was honorary, not religious. Yet, ſurely, no honorary explication, though it continue ſtill to be the apology of the Romaniſt[k], can juſtify the adoption of ceremonies, which, though they had been innocent in themſelves, would have been rendered profane by their prior application. "That the tombs of martyrs ſhould ſucceed "to the place and eſtimation of Pagan ſhrines "and temples[l]," was to recognize the practices,

[i] See Appendix VIII.

[k] The Papiſts declare that they give an inferior or relative honour only to the ſacred images of Chriſt, the Virgin Mary, and the ſaints: "adorationem non latriam, "ſed honorariam." Creſſy's Reply to Stillingfleet. Still. Works, v. 6.

[l] "Quod memoriæ martyrum noſtrorum templis eorum "delubriſque ſuccederent." Aug. de Civ. Dei, viii. 26. While the Chriſtian martyrs ſucceeded to the honours of the Pagan gods; the Chriſtian emperors ſeem alſo to have acquired thoſe of their Heathen predeceſſors. "The "Pope crowned him (Charlemagne) and anointed him "with holy oil, and worſhipped him on his knees after "the

though it avoided the name of Polytheiſm. Whatever meaning was intended, whatever devotion was expreſſed, among the heathen, by the burning of candles, by the appoſition of wine, or by proſtration at the threſholds of their temples, were retained by the ſame ceremonies, when uſed at the tombs of ſaints. Where Pagans conſidered them as religious, they would not long be regarded by Chriſtians as merely honorary: the creatures to whom they were paid would naturally obtain the homage due to the Creator alone; would, through the natural weakneſs of mankind, be ſoon invoked as the efficient cauſe, where they had been at firſt contemplated as the means only, or inſtruments of ſucceſs.

The ſuperſtition, or rather the idolatry, which thus began by a partial accommodation, was at length completed by an entire conformity to the rites of Polytheiſm. Not

" the manner of adoring the old Roman emperors; as the " aforeſaid poet (Anon. publiſhed by Boeclerus) thus " relates:

" Poſt laudes igitur dictas, et ſummus eundem
" Præſul adoravit: ſicut mos debitus olim
" Principibus fuit antiquis."

Sir I. Newton, Obſ. on Daniel. chap. vii. 12.

only the miracles of Christ [a], but also the fabulous prodigies of heathenism were in numberless instances adopted into the legends of saints [b]. Pictures and statues were introduced

[a] "Erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponensis noster, "homo religiosus et pauper, sartoris se arte pascebat, ca-"sulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat: ad "20 martyres, quorum Memoria apud nos est celeberri-"ma, clara voce ut vestiretur oravit. Audierunt eum "adolescentes, qui forte aderant irrisores; eumque disce-"dentem exagitantes prosequebantur; quasi a martyribus "quinquagenos folles, unde vestimentum emeret petivisset. "At ille tacitus ambulans, ejectum grandem piscem pal-"pitantem vidit in litore, eumque illis faventibus atque "adjuvantibus apprehendit, et cuidam coquo Catoso no-"mine bene Christiano ad coquinam conditariam, indi-"cans quid gestum sit, trecentis follibus vendidit, lanam "comparare inde disponens, ut uxor ejus quomodo posset, "ei quo indueretur efficeret. Sed coquus concidens pis-"cem, anulum aureum in ventriculo ejus invenit, mox-"que miseratione flexus, et religione perterritus, homini "eum reddidit, dicens, Ecce quomodo 20 martyres te "vestierunt." Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8.

[b] Jortin's Remarks, ii. 304. See also Stillingfleet's Vindication of Protestant Grounds of Faith, chap. 3. and Hey's Lectures, vol. i. p. 13. and pp. 135, 136. "Had "these persons (the Evangelists) invented, we may see "what they would have written by their being desirous "to call down fire from heaven; by their ambition to be "greatest in the kingdom of Christ. . . . . It seems "undeniable that if the Evangelists had invented the ac-

"counts

into the church, that the charge of atheiſm might be refuted which the firſt Chriſtians had incurred by their ſtrict adherence to the ſpiritual worſhip of one God. New adaptations alſo were made to Paganiſm, long after the pretence of their being neceſſary to conciliate Pagans to Chriſtianity had ceaſed to operate, whether intended to gratify the devotion of the vulgar, or ſport with its credulity. The numerous altars, and the ſolemn proceſſions, the lamps, the garlands, the luſtral water of the Romiſh ceremonial, its incenſe, its images, and votive tablets ſerve rather to illuſtrate the rites, than to ſuperſede the belief of claſſical mythology. The peculiar attributes of heathen deities, the various departments in which they preſided, are aſſigned to Chriſtian ſaints °. The traveller who viſits in the metropolis of Italy that ſuperb monument of its ancient greatneſs, which was dedicated by Agrippa to Jupiter and all the Gods, now finds that the Pantheon has been re-conſecrated to the Virgin, and the holy martyrs. Different ſervices preſent themſelves to his obſervation:

"counts of the miracles they related, thoſe miracles "would have been as idle and fooliſh as thoſe related by "the ancient fathers." Hey, ibid.

° See Appendix IX.

ſeparate altars, and diſtinct congregations around each, devoted to their peculiar ſaint; and he diſcovers that, in a city which now claims preeminence over the Chriſtian, as it once poſſeſſed the maſtery of the heathen world, though the name be changed, the eſſence and meaning of religion continue to be ſtill the ſame [p].

It has been obſerved that many of theſe corruptions may be referred rather to error than deſign, and that many, though deſigned, may have been prompted by pious motives. No charitable conſtruction, however, can be alleged to palliate the abuſes which terminated in oppreſſing Chriſtianity not only with the burden of Papal ſuperſtition, but alſo with the yoke of Papal tyranny. Im-

[p] Middleton's Letter from Rome, p. 161. See alſo Geddes's Deſcription of a ſolemn Pontifical Maſs, and the account of a Proceſſion on Good-Friday, at Courtray, (Picart, vol. ii. p. 27. Engl. Tr.) and of another at Bruſſels. (Ibid.) The Romiſh eccleſiaſtics themſelves ſeem to have been ſometimes conſcious that their church is liable to the charge of idolatry. "As the name Decalogue "implies ten commandments, the Romaniſts make ten; "yet they get rid of the ſecond, through fear, probably, "of making a difficulty about their images, and ſeem to "divide the tenth into two." Hey's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 75.

mediately

mediately on the temporal eſtabliſhment of the faith under the empire of Conſtantine, as the rites of heatheniſm were adapted to the doctrines of Chriſtianity; ſo the temporal privileges of the heathen pontificate were aſſumed by Chriſtian biſhops [q]. A more recent age beheld the complete emancipation of the church from its dependance on the ſtate. The abuſes adopted in conformity to Paganiſm were maintained by the Roman pontiffs as conſtituting the eſſence of Chriſtianity. Gregory the ſecond commenced the aſſertion of Papal independence as the defender of image worſhip againſt the profane impiety of thoſe who dared to reject its uſe, or queſtion its lawfulneſs [r]. The right of electing the Popes, without the obligation of waiting for the conſent of the

[q] "Geddes's Eſſay on the Roman Pontificate, p. 68. See ibid. 76, 77.

[r] Univerſal Hiſtory, vii. 705. fol. Gibbon, c. 49. vol. v. 4to. p. 105. Though it may be true, as Monteſquieu aſſerts, (Grandeur et Décadence, chap. 22.) that the Greek church was more corrupted than the Latin, yet the vicinity of the court, which probably fomented the intrigues and augmented the corruptions of the Conſtantinopolitan eccleſiaſtics, muſt nevertheleſs have oppoſed obſtacles to their independence, from which the biſhops of Rome were in a great degree ſecured by their diſtance. See Villers on the Reformation, tranſlated by Mills, p. 432.

emperors, was conferred on the ſacerdotal order, not as the tribute of a miſtaken piety, but as the reward of temporal ſervices [s]. The ſtep from independence to territorial dominion was marked by the depoſition of emperors, and the patronage of rebellion. The fictitious gift of Conſtantine to Sylveſter was realized by the gratitude of Pepin, and of Charlemagne; but it was purchaſed by the degradation of the Merovingian race of princes [t]. Such were the unhallowed methods by which the authority of the popedom was advanced amid the diſtractions of the empire, and the inroads of barbarous tribes, till, at length, a tyranny was eſtabliſhed over the mind, leſs capable of being removed than ſervitude of the body [u]. Indig-

[s] Moſheim, Cent. 9. c. ii. §. 3.

[t] Gibbon ubi ſup. p. 119.

[u] See Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 175. ed. 1687. and Sir I. Newton's Obſervations on Daniel, chap. 8. Any perſon who would wiſh to ſee the particulars of thoſe unjuſt privileges which were aſſumed by the clergy, and adopted into the adminiſtration of juſtice during the more corrupted ages, may conſult the work of De Graffis, a Sicilian lawyer, De Effectibus Clericatûs. It is the doctrine of one chapter, that though, generally ſpeaking, a perſon who commits an injury be bound to make reſtitution, yet that a clerk is exempted from the obligation. P. 360. Eff. 48. ed. 3. Panormi, 1633. There is

nation may rouſe the courage, or exaſperate the vengeance of an injured, if an enlightened people. Where the principles of liberty are underſtood, the throne of the patriot monarch is the only throne which is ſecure. But when reaſon has been ſubjected to the tyranny of long preſcription, and religious bigotry, no ſudden exertion is competent to reſtore its freedom. The twilight muſt firſt glimmer, and the day dawn through ages of gradual illumination, ere the perfect light of truth can riſe to diſpel the terrors of darkneſs. Bacon ſtudied, and Wickliffe taught, without any immediate reſult correſponding to the merit of their exertions. Other ages were to elapſe before the practicability of deliverance could exiſt, before that flame of reformation could be kindled at the pile of Latimer and Ridley, of which, as they predicted, ſo we confide that it ſhall never be extinguiſhed.

With the corruptions of the Romiſh church it muſt be unneceſſary to compare, expreſsly, the unviolated religion of Jeſus Chriſt. The contraſt is too obvious to require a minute exem-

is an inſtance of ſtill more licentious immorality, p. 451. Eff. 32. where the writer, however, has the modeſty to diſſent himſelf from an opinion which he relates to be avowed by many eminent doctors.

plification. No inſult to the ſpirit of true Chriſtianity can eaſily be imagined, of which, in the manifold abuſes of the papacy, ſome ſtriking inſtance is not to be diſcovered. Chriſt gave himſelf a ranſom for mankind. Pardons have been laviſhed by the Roman pontiff on all who would arm to glut his vengeance[x]; and ſold to all who would contribute to ſatiate his rapacity[y]. Chriſt ſubmitted himſelf to ſhare the ſorrows, and participate in the infirmities of mankind; that he might comfort our weakneſs, and ſhow by the moſt lively example that he was ſenſible to all our wants,

[x] Hiſt des Albigeois p. 95.

[y] "A notable inſtance of this hath appeared lately, "when in the year 1709, the privateers of Briſtol took "the galleon, in which they found five hundred bales of "theſe bulls, and ſixteen reams were in a bale; ſo that "they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. Theſe "bulls are impoſed on the people, and ſold, the loweſt at "three ryals, a little more than 2od. but to ſome at fifty "pieces of eight, about 11l. of our money; and this to "be valued, according to the ability of the purchaſer, "once in two years. All are obliged to buy them againſt "Lent. Beſides the account given of this in the Cruiz-"ing Voyage, I have a particular atteſtation of it by Cap-"tain Dampier. He was not concerned in caſting up "the number of them; but he ſays that there was ſuch a "vaſt quantity of them, that they careened their ſhip with "them." Burnet, iii. Introd. p. xx. cited Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, i. 108. 8vo.

When

When the order of the inquiſition was inſtituted by Innocent III. he ſelected ſuch perſons to fill its offices as were moſt remarkable for the auſterities of perſonal diſcipline. He concluded that the fanatic exceſſes of mortification, to which they had habituated themſelves, would deaden their ſenſibility for others[z]: and they, in truth, who inflicted on their own fleſh unnatural and ſuperſtitious penances, were, probably, of all men, moſt hardened againſt humanity; leaſt likely to be mollified by tears or diſturbed by pity in authorizing the uſe of torture, or regulating its ſeverity.

Without attempting, therefore, to enlarge on this unconteſted diſtinction between the moral purity of genuine Chriſtianity and of Papal corruptions, it is to be obſerved that their difference in real wiſdom is not leſs re-

[z] Hiſt. de l'Inquiſition, p. 119. 8vo. Col. "Ecoutons le "Docteur Gonzale de Illeſcas, dans la premiere partie de "ſon Hiſtoire Pontificale et Catholique, pag. 117. "Si "alors (dans les premiers ſiécles de l'Egliſe) on ne bru-"loit pas les hérétiques opiniâtres, c'eſt qu'outre qu'ils "étoient fort puiſſans, le Pape n'avoit pas les forces ni "l'appui des princes ſéculiers. Préſentement, la foi "étant établie et reçue, et le ſouverain pontife ayant ac-"quis beaucoup de pouvoir, il eſt juſte que l'on procede "contre eux par les plus cruels ſupplices." La Croze, Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie, pp. 304, 305.

mark-

markable; ſince it is probably to this difference that the imperfect progreſs of our religion in the world is chiefly to be referred.

It has been ſeen that the abuſes which have been enumerated, whether their guilt be extenuated by ſincere error, or enhanced by temporal ambition, undoubtedly originated in a principle of compliance with exiſting circumſtances. Such compliance, while it was practiſed by miſtaken Chriſtians from the belief that it might be unobjectionable or expedient, was encouraged by the ambitious from inſincere and ſelfiſh motives. Now, if the prejudices of mankind were uniform both in kind and degree, an accommodation to thoſe of one time might prove, at all times, equally politic and ſucceſsful. But though truth be always the ſame, error is always variable. The prejudices of different ages and different countries are different from and oppoſite to each other. To compromiſe, therefore, the real doctrines of religion by compliance with the ſuperſtitions of a particular age, or ſingle people, not only impairs the purity, but alſo impedes the progreſs of the religion, when delivered to a ſucceeding generation, or preached in another country. What, in the one caſe, is compliance, muſt neceſſarily be oppoſition in

in the other. Weak, alſo, and imperfect as is our perception of the truth, yet reaſon and evidence are, on the whole, ſeen ultimately to prevail, while oppoſing errors combat each other without ceaſing, and triumph alternately without effect. Where Polytheiſm is the popular ſuperſtition, the worſhip of images and the deification of ſaints may be a politic adaptation to immediate circumſtances. But, wherever the errors of Polytheiſm are diminiſhed in their prevalence, the policy of this adaptation muſt be proportionably leſſened: and wherever the unity of the divine being is completely acknowledged, and idolatry abhorred, polytheiſtic or idolatrous doctrines muſt prove a fatal bar to the reception of a religion which includes them [a].

Nor is the tyranny of a religion leſs adverſe to its progreſs in an age which recognizes the principles of liberty, than its corruptions, in an age which is enlightened with the know-

[a] The ſuperſtition of the Siameſe may not always diſpoſe them to believe in tranſubſtantiation. "L'Eucha-"riſtie après cela ne ſcandaliſeroit point les Siamois, "comme elle ſcandaliſoit autrefois les Payens d'Europe: "d'autant plus que les Siamois croyent que Sommona-"Codom a pû donner ſa femme et ſes enfans à manger "aux Talapoins." Loubere, Siam, vol. i. p. 428.

ledge

ledge of truth. That both the corruptions and the tyranny of the Romiſh church have in fact been prejudicial to its real intereſts is ſo obvious, that I may be allowed to aſſume it for the preſent, and to reſerve for my concluding diſcourſe the few obſervations which, on this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to make. I ſhall now confine myſelf to explain the manner in which the abuſes of the papacy oppoſe the propagation even of pure Chriſtianity.

It may be obſerved, then, that the Jew, the Mahometan, or the Infidel, can ſcarcely be expected to diſcriminate between the various denominations of our religion, to inquire not only into its general evidence, but alſo into the falſity of thoſe claims which are aſſerted by many of its profeſſors. When they are called on to embrace the Chriſtian ſyſtem, they deny that it is conſiſtent with the purity of the Moſaic, or with the truths of natural religion. They upbraid the Romiſh errors with pointed and juſt animadverſion, and attributing thoſe errors, though moſt unjuſtly, to the true religion of the Goſpel, "This," they exclaim, "is Chriſtianity. It is unfriendly "to the liberty of man, and incompatible "with the attributes of God. Why ſhould we "be taxed by you with credulity, when we

"may

"may retort the charge upon yourſelves? "Why ſhould we exchange the religion of "our fathers for a religion not more excellent "than theirs?" Undoubtedly, the corruptions by which Chriſtianity is expoſed to ſuch repulſe, though they may have tended to conciliate the fleeting prejudices exiſtent at the period of their origin, yet, in their eventual operation, preſent difficulties to the underſtanding, not only more real, but, likewiſe, more apparent; not only more repugnant to the reaſon of the wiſe, but likewiſe more offenſive to the prejudices of the vulgar, than any which ever ſeem to be attached to truth.

The anſwer, indeed, may fairly be returned to all objections derived from the abuſes of Chriſtianity, that the abuſes conſtitute not the religion; that we profeſs not to preach, that we venture not to defend the corruptions of our faith; that the religion of Proteſtants is the religion of the Bible only; and that, in this ſacred volume, neither doctrines are taught, nor practices ſanctioned, which are inconſiſtent with the purity of God.

This anſwer, no doubt, is juſt and reaſonable. But, wherever the affections of mankind are concerned in the reſult of a diſcuſſion, in queſtions where demonſtration is not to be expected,

expected, and the evidence of probability alone is to be conſidered, the juſteſt argument, unaided by circumſtances, is, always, of imperfect, and often of inconſiderable effect. Men, in general, are prejudiced and haſty reaſoners. Always diſpoſed to believe themſelves, their party, or their ſect, to be in the right, they are ready to receive as true whatever ſeems conſonant to their belief; but will rarely condeſcend to doubt the accuracy of their own opinions, or to examine, impartially, the arguments of their adverſaries. They are ready to hold faſt that which is good; but the previous labour of proving all things is too fatiguing or too irritating for them to bear. Whatever ſeems to be in their favour, though it may be founded in miſrepreſentation, they are unwilling to relinquiſh, and are apt to tax an opponent with every extreme that the zealots of his ſyſtem may have ever held; to attribute to him doctrines which he does not profeſs, and errors which he is ſtudious to diſavow.

From this weakneſs, which is common to all perſuaſions, the oppoſers of Chriſtianity have, certainly, not been free. Nor, poſſibly, can it in any one be more excuſable than in the ſincere unbeliever, to whom the evidence of our religion may be propoſed, while his mind,

mind, and, perhaps, his ſenſes are impreſſed with the full enormity of papal ſuperſtition. He ſees a church which has ſucceeded, without external interruption, to the earlieſt ſocieties of Chriſtians; the moſt ſumptuous in its eſtabliſhment, and the creed of which is moſt extenſive in its reception. He ſees it, however, to be idolatrous in worſhip, and tyrannical in power; and knows that theſe characters cannot poſſibly proceed from God.

Rejecting, therefore, the pretenſions of the Roman church, he deigns not to look for truth in leſs oſtentatious, and apparently leſs ancient, eſtabliſhments. Such diſdain, in a queſtion of ſuch primary importance, is a fault, undoubtedly, of no trivial magnitude. It is his duty to examine, and to prove. Still it is ſo natural an error, ſo ſimilar to thoſe of which we all partake, that we muſt pity while we reprove, and lament it rather than condemn. A juſt perception, however, both of the error and its conſequences may be the means of leſſening its frequency. Seeing that the cauſe of Chriſtianity has ſuffered by the abuſes which have been introduced into its profeſſion, that the policy which ſeeks only for preſent advantage is eventually ſucceeded by misfortune; we may be inſtructed ſtudiouſly to diſtinguiſh

tinguiſh the true religion of Chriſt from the corruptions by which it has been oppreſſed. We can ſcarcely hope that the exiſting evil can be immediately and completely cured; but it may be diminiſhed by conſtant attention, and, poſſibly, removed by gradual renovation. Still, perhaps, for a ſeaſon, the abuſes of the Papal religion will cauſe the inconſiderate ſceptic to reject the belief of Chriſtianity. Yet we may hope that, after the religious as well as the civil diſtractions with which Europe has been long haraſſed, the utility and excellence of the Reformation will become conſpicuous throughout the Chriſtian world. While it exhibits a reſource to doubtful Papiſts, it moderates the doctrines, and tempers the abuſes of Popery itſelf; and tends, in all the ſphere of its operation, extenſive or limited, profeſſed or indirect, to illuſtrate the great contraſt between error and truth, between craft and wiſdom, between the means which tend ſolely to the eſtabliſhment, and thoſe which ſecure the permanence of a religion.

SERMON V.

" On y connoît que l'objet principal des Jeſuites n'eſt pas pro-
" prement de corrompre les mœurs des Chrétiens, ni auſſi de les
" réformer ; mais de s'attirer tout le monde par une conduite ac-
" commodante." *Preface to the Prov. Letters.*

" Fateor equidem me cum a multis annis ſocietatis hujus in-
" crementa incredibilia, tum, quibus valet, dotes aut famam,
" quæ longe lateque diffunditur, eruditionis nempe multiplicis,
" opulentiæ privatum modum ſupergreſſæ, gratiæ apud magnates,
" notitiæ omnium partium et linguarum orbis conſideraſſem, non
" potuiſſe non ſortem Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ vel mirari ſatis vel do-
" lere. Cogitabam enim ſi hominum ingenio, ſapientia, indu-
" ſtria, agilitate, facultatibus, et laboribus juvari potuiſſet Eccle-
" ſia, purgari religio, diſciplina et virtus vera atque infucata re-
" ſtitui; eruditio ad ſummum faſtigium erigi, errores omnes refu-
" tari, præſtari id potuiſſe ab hac ſocietate, cujus exemplum in
" omnium ſeculorum hiſtoria non inveniemus, ſive numerum et
" delectum hominum ex omnibus nationibus, generibus et ordini-
" bus ; ſive commoditates totum terrarum orbem ſumtu ex aliena
" liberalitate aut ſua ſolertia quæſito peragrandi, omnes artes li-
" berales et mechanicas excolendi, reges et magnates accedendi et
" conciliandi : ſive partas inde opes, et tot alia quæ nulli vel po-
" liticæ vel religioſæ ſocietati contigerunt, reſpiciamus." *Seckendorf, Comm. de Luther.* lib. 3. ſect. 21. §. 84. ſubſect. 74, 75.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

THE founders of thoſe earlier ſocieties in the Romiſh church, to which the title of Regular Clergy is applied, ſeem uſually to have been influenced by a pious, though ignorant enthuſiaſm. Theſe votaries of monaſtic ſeverity were of opinion that they purified the ſoul by macerating the body, and that the ſureſt recommendation to the divine favour was the exerciſe of an uninterrupted devotion, which left no interval either for the pleaſures or the temporal cares of life. Their purſuits extended not to the good of others, but were ſolely confined to their own individual perfection; and, though they originally profeſſed a reſpect for the eccleſiaſtics of ſecular eſtabliſhments, and held that even the laity might be ſafely, and, perhaps, laudably employed in the buſineſs of their reſpective ſtations, yet they believed the nobleſt and moſt dignified occupation of the human faculties to conſiſt in abſtraction from the world, and contemplation of the divine eſſence.

The ſeveral orders of Profeſſed Religious, that

that aroſe in conſequence of this perſuaſion, interfered not at firſt with the epiſcopal and parochial clergy. Enthuſiaſts, however, ſoon feel the love of power, as well as the ſpirit of proſelytiſm; and men, who were conſidered by the ſuperſtitious as inveſted with peculiar ſanctity of character, from being revered as ſaints, were ſoon conſulted as teachers. They acquired eſtabliſhments and opulence as the fruits of this public eſtimation; nor could they fail to ſhare in the power of the church, while they partook of the liberality of the people. It ſeems, alſo, to be allowed, that, during the period of their later hiſtory, the ſtrictneſs of their apparent rule was ſtrikingly contraſted by the predominance of real luxury, and that their religious zeal was principally confined to the advancement of their own greatneſs, and of its neceſſary ſupport, the prerogative of the Roman Pontiff. Such was the origin and progreſs of thoſe different fraternities, which, before the expiration of the ninth century, were merged in the Benedictine order[a]; and of

[a] Moſheim, vol. i. p. 292, 293. For an account of the ſuperſtitions of St. Benedict himſelf ſee Stillingfleet, "Of "the Idolatry practiſed in the Church of Rome." Works, vol. v. p. 100. On the fanaticiſm of Romualdus, Francis, and Dominic, ibid. p. 102—104, &c.

thoſe various branches of the ſame extenſive order, which, under ſeveral denominations, have ſince exiſted.

After the greatneſs of the Benedictine order was paſſed, that of the Mendicants ſucceeded. A ſincere but fanatical piety had, doubtleſs, a conſiderable ſhare in their eſtabliſhment [b], but it was inſtructed and diſciplined by policy. However hoſtile the ſecular clergy might be to them, their intereſt was warmly eſpouſed by the Papal court, which was then riſing to the zenith of its greatneſs, and not unjuſtly celebrated, in a compariſon with other cabinets, for the ability and conduct which it diſplayed. The ſupremacy over the whole Chriſtian world, which was claimed by the metropolitan of Rome, was not only inconſiſtent with reaſon, but alſo repugnant to the intereſts of national churches. The biſhops of Germany or France could have few motives for being deſirous to extend a prerogative, which was founded in encroachments partly on the liberties of every country that had ſubmitted to it, and, partly, on the privileges of eccleſiaſtics. The regular orders, more particularly the Mendicants, were, on the contrary, the abſolute unconditional ſervants of Rome. Conſidered by the clergy of

[b] Ibid. p. 105.

all

all national eſtabliſhments as intruders into a province which did not properly belong to them, they could look to the Pope alone for countenance or protection. They ſpared no labour, they ſhrunk from no ſervice, which might conciliate his will, or increaſe his power to ſupport them. Hence the zeal, by which the Inquiſition became, in the hands of the Dominicans, more fatal to the devoted Albigenſes than the calamities even of a religious war; hence the profligate licence with which the ſale of indulgences was conducted, principally by eccleſiaſtics of the ſame order, till Luther was at length rouſed, and the Proteſtant reformation was begun.

At the commencement and during the early progreſs of that glorious ſtruggle, the eſtimation of the regular orders was ſunk to ſo low an ebb, both on account of their ignorance and their immorality, as to reflect a general diſcredit on the church. This diſgrace was felt ſo ſenſibly by the more liberal members of the Romiſh communion, that they loudly declared, when the Pope's approbation was ſolicited to the new inſtitute of the Jeſuits, that Europe was already oppreſſed by the multitude of Regulars, and that, inſtead of adding to their number, it was highly expedient

that the ordinances of the council of Lateran under Innocent the third, and of Lyons under Gregory the tenth [c], ſhould be enforced, for the purpoſe of its reſtriction [d]. The difficulty thus oppoſed was overcome by a vow of implicit obedience to the ſee of Rome, which was entered into by Loyola, and his aſſociates, and afterwards exacted of all thoſe Jeſuits who were admitted to the higheſt rank of Profeſſion; a vow never realized, indeed, by performance, but flattering in its appearance, and too ſpecious to be reſiſted, at a time when hereſy was become more daring and ſucceſsful than before, and the active energy of a new order ſeemed neceſſary to ſtop its progreſs.

Policy and enthuſiaſm have been joined in every ſignal impoſition on mankind. Thoſe ſchemes, probably, bid faireſt for ſucceſs, where the cool head has deviſed the plan,

[c] This council of Lyons was held in 1274, and that of Lateran in 1215. Concilia cited by M. de la Chalotais, Compte rendu des Conſtitutions des Jeſuites, p. 5. ed. Amſt. 1762. Benard, Hiſtoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jeſus, Utrecht, 1741. Liv. i. chap. 69. and Moſheim on the Mendicants, vol. i. p. 655.

[d] Benard ibid. Conſilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda Eccleſia S. D. N. Papa Paulo III. ipſo jubente conſcriptum et exhibitum an. 1538. Lond. 1609. p. 11.

which

which the warm heart is impelled to execute. Either may, indeed, precede the other; but, though the torrent of enthuſiaſm be violent, it is exhauſted uſeleſsly, unleſs wiſdom direct its courſe; and the moſt ingenious ſchemes of policy will languiſh in the detail, unleſs they be paſſionately eſpouſed [e]. Both theſe principles of action were united in the eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits: enthuſiaſm was guided by policy, and policy was aided by enthuſiaſm.

The aduſt temperament of its founder is eaſily to be diſcovered in the early hiſtory of the order. He had been educated in military habits, and had attached himſelf to the ſtudies of chivalry. His fancy kindled into religious ardour, becauſe the heroiſm of faith ſeemed of a nature ſtill more illuſtrious and captivating than that of arms. He devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the Virgin with ceremonies preciſely analogous to thoſe which attended the inveſti-

[e] "Les hommes en effet ſont rarement conduits par les "eſprits froids et tranquilles. La paiſible raiſon n'a point "toute ſeule cette chaleur néceſſaire pour perſuader ſes "opinions, et faire entrer dans ſes vues; elle ſe contente "d'inſtruire ſon ſiécle à petit bruit et ſans éclat, et d'être "enſuite ſimple ſpectatrice de l'effet bon ou mauvais que "ſes leçons auront produit." D'Alembert ſur la Deſtruction des Jeſuites, p. 150, 151. 12mo. 1765.

ture of knighthood, and, having ſuſpended his ſword and poignard in the chapel of Montſerrat, he ſallied into the world, retaining, under the weeds of beggary, the ſpirit of the warrior. Much of his ſucceeding conduct was agreeable to what might naturally be expected from this commencement of his ſpiritual labours. Sometimes he affected a groſs vulgarity of manner, ſometimes an offenſive negligence of perſon; now oppreſſed by melancholy and abſtinence, and now frantic with ecſtaſy. In the latter part of his life, particularly when eſtabliſhed at Rome as the General of his order, a ſimilar ebullition of enthuſiaſm is, indeed, ſcarcely to be diſcerned; an example of the known progreſs by which the zeal of ſuperſtition is converted by age into the ſpirit of party[f]; and a preſumption of the fact, which many circumſtances might be adduced to confirm, that he had then ſubmitted to the direction of men far abler than himſelf[g].

The conſtitutions of the Jeſuits are evidently ſeen to have been dictated by a conſummate policy, and exhibit even to careleſs obſervers

[f] L'enthouſiaſme ſe tourne aſſez ordinairement en eſprit de faction dans un âge plus avancé. Chalotais, 164.

[g] See Appendix X.

a ſtrik-

a ſtriking conſonance to the real hiſtory of the order. Their principal characteriſtic is the blind obedience on which its whole economy is founded. As the limbs of a lifeleſs carcaſe, which are informed by no will, excited by no agency of their own; as a ſtaff wielded at pleaſure by the hands of its poſſeſſor; in ſuch a manner and ſo paſſively, according to the words of their inſtitute itſelf, individual Jeſuits commit themſelves to the guidance of their ſuperiors [h].

Every member of the order, after having taken the firſt vows, became unable to retire without the permiſſion of the General; while, except in comparatively few inſtances, the General retained the prerogative of diſmiſſal, even over the Profeſſed themſelves [i]. Reſtricted by no law he poſſeſſed the right of altering the conſtitutions, as circumſtances might ſeem to

[h] See Appendix XI.

[i] "Ils ne peuvent jamais ſortir après leur premier vœu "ſans la permiſſion du Général: mais le Général peut les "renvoyer en tout tems *même après les derniers vœux.*" Chalotais, p. 121. But this laſt expreſſion muſt be interpreted of the *Profès de trois vœux*, from whom the *Profès de quatre vœux* are in many eſſential reſpects to be diſtinguiſhed. See Benard, liv. ii. §. 14, and 18, and the Monarchie des Soliples, 12mo. Amſt. 1753. p. 78. note 4.

direct:

direct[k]: in him the whole patronage of the society was concentrated. He was invested exclusively with the executive, and exercised also, in effect, the supreme legislative authority[l].

The education of the Jesuits, and the precepts inculcated on them were well calculated to acquire fit subjects for the service of this unparalleled despotism. Instead of the barren piety of conventuals, they were exhorted to cultivate the talents suited to promote the success of active life[m]. The novice, on his first

[k] "Quoique nous ayons des loix, et même en plus "grand nombre qu'il ne seroit nécessaire, le Général ce- "pendant n'y a aucun égard.—Car il n'y a pas une loi "dont il n'ait le pouvoir de dispenser qui il lui plaît.—C'est "une chose déplorable." Mariana (Jesuite) quoted Monarchie des Solipses, p. 88. See also Chalotais p. 31. note c.

[l] See Appendix XII.

[m] Benard I. 58, 59. "Primum, quoniam nomen hoc "religionis semper hactenus solitum est solis tribui mo- "nachis ob quandam excellentiorem rationem vitæ, no- "lumus ut quisquam intelligat nos esse ad eundem mo- "dum religiosos: nec enim nos dignos esse arbitramur, "qui tam sanctum atque perfectum vitæ genus profitea- "mur. Horum enim institutum aliud in aliis officiis ho- "nestis et sanctis obeundis versatur totum. Nostrum, "cum aliis in rebus, tum maxima ex parte in studio et "pro-

admiſſion, was required to renounce whatever intimacies he had contracted under the ties of blood, or friendſhip [n], to diſcloſe to his ſuperiors the moſt minute particulars, even ſuch as were entirely unconnected with religion, and the moſt flagrant enormities of his paſt life; to promiſe that he would ſubmit, at ſtated intervals, his future conduct to their animadverſion; and to conſent that no confidence repoſed by him in another, that only excepted which he might entruſt to the ſeal of confeſſion, ſhould be deemed ſacred from their knowledge [o].

Subordinate officers tranſmitted regularly to the General monthly, yearly, and triennial reports from every province in which the order poſſeſſed eſtabliſhments. Beſides the ordinary details of buſineſs or of fact, they notified the age, the talents, and the moral habits of every individual, who was ſubject to their reſpective

" profeſſione conſiſtit earum artium, quæ ad ſpiritualem " populi propriam utilitatem conducit.

" Nec etiam ſæculares ſumus eo modo, quo reliqui ſa- " cerdotes: vivimus enim in congregatione et ſocietate."

Déclaration faicte par les Jeſuites au Recteur, et à l'Univerſité de Paris, 1564. Merc. Jeſ. i. 348.

[n] See Appendix XIII.

[o] See Appendix XIV.

juriſdictions.

juriſdictions. They particularized the ſtudies to which he was chiefly inclined, and the employments which he ſeemed moſt competent to diſcharge. Thus vigilantly were obſerved the riſing hopes of the ſociety; and from among men thus accurately known, and often ſubjected to ſuch diſcipline and trial as might be beſt calculated to develope their real character and powers; were ſelected, according to their ſeveral capacities, the perſons moſt aptly qualified for the various and peculiar uſes, whether of temporal or of ſpiritual ambition[p]. Rank, wealth, and worldly reputation are recounted in the inſtitutes of the order as circumſtances which ought to influence, though not indiſpenſably requiſite to determine the choice of members. It was contemplated that in ſome theſe external advantages might compenſate the want of talent; while others, though poor and mean, might amply atone for an ignoble deſcent, or for the want of fortune, by the poſſeſſion of perſonal ability[q].

[p] See Appendix XV.

[q] "Dona externa nobilitatis, divitiarum, bonæ famæ, et "ſimilia, ut non ſatis ſunt, ſi deſint alia; ita, cum alia ſup- "petent, hæc non erunt neceſſaria: quatenus tamen ad "ædificationem faciunt, reddunt magis idoneos ut ad- "mittantur, qui ſine ipſis alioqui eſſent idonei propter "dotes

The authors of that memorable ſyſtem, like other ambitious ſpeculators, preferred deciſion and intrepidity of character, even to the higheſt qualifications of the mind; knowing that to dare boldly is uſually to ſucceed, or conſcious that they had wiſdom to contrive, wherever they might have ſtrength to execute[r].

The reputation of poverty was neceſſary to the popularity of the Jeſuits; but the reality would have proved adverſe to their power. Their conſtitutions, accordingly, in conformity to the rules of the Mendicant ſocieties which exiſted at the time of their formation, prohibit the acquiſition of fixed revenues, but permit, under an ingenious evaſion, except to thoſe who had bound themſelves by the laſt vows, the inheritance of private property[s].

" dotes alias prædictas." Conſtitutiones, p. 13. ed. Rom. 1570. See ibid. the whole of cap. 2. De admittendis in ſocietatem.

[r] Idée du Gouvernement des Jeſ. p. 311. ſubjoined to the Monarchie des Solipſes.

[s] See Conſt. p. 4. Benard, liv. ii. chap. 18—20. Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iii. 285. Charles Zani, ſon of Count Zani of Bologna, entered into the order of the Jeſuits, in 1627, during the life of his father and elder brother. On their death, the Jeſuits are ſaid to have perſuaded him to quit the order, for the purpoſe of ſucceeding to the property to which by that means he was become entitled. Accordingly

Theſe inheritances of individuals, and all teſtamentary bequeſts, were implicitly confided to the diſpoſal of the General. To his adminiſtration, alſo, the revenues of the colleges, for the endowment of which there is an expreſs proviſion [t], were entruſted; with this ſole reſervation, that they ſhould not be alienated from the uſes of the ſociety, or the application to ſuch purpoſes as ſeemed conducive to the glory of God [u]. Enormous wealth was dili-

cordingly he did ſo, but firſt made a vow to reſume the character of Jeſuit as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of his inheritance. Arnauld, Morale Pratique des Jeſuites, vol. i. p. 276. ed. Cologne, 12mo. 1669. Aquaviva reſcinded the injunction of his predeceſſors, that Jeſuits ſhould not poſſeſs eccleſiaſtical dignities. Dom. Inigo, ii. 113—115.

[t] Benard, vol. i. p. 39. Merc. Jeſ. i. 308. "Le titre de "*pauvres* n'eſt que pour les ſeules Maiſons Profeſſes, et "pour ceux d'entre le petit nombre des Profés qui les ha"bitent. Or ces Maiſons ne ſont qu'au nombre de 24. "Ainſi ſeroient 24 Maiſons pauvres contre 1011 Mai"ſons riches. C'eſt donc déjà une parade de pauvreté "qui ſe reduit à rien." Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. vol. iv. p. 189. It was enacted by a bull of Julius III. in 1550, ten years only after the inſtitution of the order of the Jeſuits, that the revenues of the colleges ſhould not be applied to the *Maiſons Profeſſes*. Benard, i. 129. The prohibition ſeems to indicate that ſuch a miſapplication had even then, in ſome inſtances at leaſt, been made.

[u] "De iis vero quæ ſocietati ita relinquuntur, ut ipſa "pro

gently amaſſed, under theſe and other pretexts, the influence of which naturally gave increaſed vigour to the deſpotiſm of an unlimited prerogative.

The checks on this formidable authority were apparent rather than real. It may be obſerved, indeed, that, though the office of General is by the conſtitutions declared to be for life, the ſupreme power is nominally veſted in the general congregation of the order, by which, in certain caſes, he may be depoſed [x]. This, however, is a power which has never been exerted [y]. The congregation has rarely been aſſembled, but for the ſole purpoſe of a new election; and the authority of the General

"pro ſuo arbitratu ea diſponat, (ſive bona ſtabilia illa "ſint, ... ſive mobilia . . . . .) idem Generalis diſpo- "nere poterit aut vendendo aut retinendo, aut huic vel "illi loco id quod ei videbitur applicando: prout ad ma- "jorem Dei gloriam ſenſerit expedire." Conſt. p. 227. "Poſſunt omnes noſtri Præpoſiti ac rectores commutare "ex uno uſu ad alium neceſſarium legata quæ relinquun- "tur noſtris collegiis aut domibus, dummodo id fiat ſine "ſcandalo eorum ad quos ſolutio talium legatorum perti- "net: hæc facultas reſervatur Generali." Compendium Priv. Chalotais, 90. See ibid. p. 33. note (i), and for actual evaſions of the vow of Poverty, Benard, livre viii. chap. 30—32.

[x] Bouhours, p. 330. Chalotais, 119.

[y] Dom. Inigo, i. 182.

has

has conſtantly been ſo great, that a recurrence to this privilege of appeal muſt always have proved neceſſarily unſucceſsful[a]. A particular vow, alſo, of obedience to the Pope was made by thoſe members of the order, who were advanced to the ſtate of complete profeſſion, and higheſt dignity, by which the ſimilar obligation entered into by them towards their General may appear, in ſome degree, to be ſuperſeded[a]. But the number of ſuch Jeſuits was very inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe, who were under obligation to the General alone[b]. The vow of obedience,

[a] Ibid. 183. Chalotais, 29, 30. A general congregation was held by Aquaviva, but compoſed entirely of his own creatures, and aſſembled by him for the purpoſe of counteracting thoſe projects of a reform in the order which Clement VIII. was willing to entertain. Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iv. 69, 70. This attempt to reform the order was particularly directed to obtain a reſtriction of the power of the General. Similar attempts had been repeatedly made by many among the Jeſuits themſelves. Ibid. 62. See Mariana, Diſc. des défauts du Gouvernement des Jeſ. a French tranſlation of which is printed together with the original Spaniſh in the ſecond volume of the Merc. Jeſuite. See alſo the ſupplications for a reform of the order, ibid. pp. 195. et ſeqq.

[a] Bull of Paul III. 1540. Merc. Jeſ. p. 306. Examen Gen. Conſt. cap. i. 1.

[b] Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iii. 251.

alſo,

alſo, to the General may be conſidered as the neceſſary cement of the ſociety, or the indiſpenſable inſtrument of power. The vow of obedience to the Pope was intended merely to acquire his ſupport. When the end was attained, the ſtipulation was neglected. His power of withdrawing, or even of limiting that ſupport was queſtioned: the poſſeſſion of irrevocable privileges was aſſumed, and verbal declarations, alleged to have been made in private conferences, were confidently appealed to, as of equal authority with his moſt expreſs and formal decrees [c].

Such were the conſtitutions of this celebrated order. Nor does the ſpirit, which they have been repreſented to poſſeſs, exiſt only in ſome doubtful maxim introduced into them by accident, or to be diſcovered by a malignant ingenuity: it is the vital principle which actuates and pervades the whole. The volume of their inſtitute cannot be opened by the moſt unprejudiced ſpeculator on their hiſtory, without perceiving that it contains proſpective views of aggrandizement: that it was originally intended as well as actually applied to create a ſpiritual ſoldiery, active in enter-

[c] See Appendix XVI.

priſe, patient in ſuffering, whoſe perſonal conduct might conciliate approbation, whoſe eloquence might gain proſelytes, and whoſe paſſions might be concentrated in zeal for the intereſts of their order[d]. General injunctions to virtue are far from being omitted. But the political uſes to which the appearance of virtue may be made ſubſervient ſeem to be contemplated with far more intereſt than its reality[e].

Should the juſtice of theſe inferences be diſputed, we may appeal from ſpeculation to fact. The conduct of the Jeſuits has been always

[d] See the Conſtitutions, cap. 2. & 3. "De admittendis in ſocietatem," et "De iis quæ impediunt ne "quis in ſocietatem admittatur." The military genius of the ſociety is animadverted on not unſkilfully in the *Advis de Meſſire Euſtache de Bellay Eveſque de Paris, en l'an* 1554, *contenant les raiſons, pour leſquelles il eſtime cette ſocieté ne devoir eſtre reçue.* "Et parceque le faicte que "l'on prétend de l'érection dudit ordre ou compagnie, eſt "qu'ils iront prêcher les Turcs et infidelles, et les amener "à la cognoiſſance de Dieu: faudroit, ſous correction, "établir leſdites maiſons et ſociétez es lieux prochains "deſdits infidelles, ainſi qu'anciennement a été fait des "chevaliers de Rhodes, qui ont été mis ſur les frontieres "de la Chrétienté, non au milieu d'icelle: auſſi y auroit-il "beaucoup de temps perdu et conſommé d'aller de Paris "juſqu'au Conſtantinople, et autres lieux de Turquie." Merc. Jeſ. i. 320.

[e] See Appendix XVII.

ſuitable

ſuitable to the character of their conſtitutions. They have always ſtudied to ingratiate themſelves with the powerful and the opulent: ever extenſively engaged in the education of youth, they rarely have diſcovered among their pupils the promiſe of future talent, without endeavouring to ſecure it for themſelves[f]. The inferior members yielded themſelves up to the tranſcendant deſpotiſm which has been deſcribed, its willing ſlaves, and reſolute miniſters. They haſtened to forget all national or domeſtic feelings, and carried with them into the offices to which they were appointed a full perſuaſion that they owed a fidelity to their General, which ſuperſeded every obligation by which men can be bound to a temporal ſovereign, to the countries in which they were born, or the families from which they ſprang. They abandoned all rights of their own, even their reputations, to his diſpoſal:

[f] Monarchie des Soliplès, chap. xviii. note (2). Catechiſme des Jeſuites, livre ii. chap. 4. This ſpirit of proſelytiſm ſeems to have been common to all the monaſtic orders. (See the Letter of Eraſmus to Grunnius, App. to Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, No. i.) That it was preſerved even in the later ages of the Jeſuit hiſtory may be ſeen in the Mémoires de Marmontel, vol. i. p. 112. ed. Paris, 12mo. 1804.

and cherished the contemplation of his greatness as their ruling pride and passion [g]. What so fit for the purposes of ambition as a devoted band of these formidable, and, to use an expression of their own, these regimented ecclesiastics? What dark conspirator is to be found in history enabled by long and painful machinations to secure to himself associates so active or so faithful as the General of the Jesuits possessed [h]? Yet he abandoned not himself without precaution even to the Provincials or superiors of the order. Each member was a spy on each. The secret malice of the informer was actively exerted against all, from which no ability escaped, and by which no station was respected [i].

[g] "Des esclaves n'ont point de patrie: ils ont oublié "la maison de leurs peres et les lieux où ils sont nés; ils "ne voyent que la grandeur du despote qu'ils servent, et "de l'empire qu'il s'est formé. Leurs yeux sont toujours "sur la main du maitre, et ils n'ont pas plus d'autorité "qu'un instrument inanimé." Chalotais, p. 124. See p. 125.

[h] Chalotais, 165. D'Alembert, p. 36.

[i] Mariana, Discours des défauts du gouvernement des Jesuites, chap. 13. Fr. Transl. Mercure Jesuite, 2. 148. "J'ose bien assurer, que si on venoit à feuilleter les ar-"chives de Rome, on ne trouvera pas un seul, qui soit "homme de bien, au moins d'être nous autres, qui "sommes

The indirect and selfish policy by which the Jesuits were distinguished is not, in any degree, less remarkable, if we turn from the despotism of their constitutions to the viciousness of their casuistry. They held, to the most unqualified extent, that the baseness of the means is sanctified by the purity of the end [k]; that all compliances were lawful which might promote their corporate greatness; and, in magnifying the authority of prescription, they extinguished, so far as sophism can extinguish reason, the power of conscience. Industriously insinuating themselves into the office of confessors, they were careful not to impede their reception in this capacity by any impolitic severity of moral discipline [l]. Every

" sommes eſloignés, et ne ſommes point conus du Général. " Car tous ſont marqués, les uns plus, les autres moins." Ibid. p. 150. See alſo La Monarchie des Solipſes, chap. 10. §. 9. and the Idée du Gouvernement des Jeſuites ſubjoined, p. 324.

[k] " Quand nous ne pouvons pas empêcher l'action, " nous purifions au moins l'intention ; et ainſi nous cor- " rigeons le vice du moien par la pureté de la fin." Lettres Provinciales, lettre 7. p. 97. ed. Cologne, 12mo, 1657. See P. Bauny cited lettre 5. p. 66.

[l] " Helas, me dit le Pere, noſtre principal but auroit " été de n'établir point d'autres maximes que celles de " l'Evangile dans toute leur ſévérité. Et l'on voit aſſez " par le reglement de nos mœurs, que ſi nous ſouffrons

abuſe which the wildeſt viſionary had patronized, every real crime which might have been countenanced in the wantonneſs of diſputation as *probably* juſtifiable or expedient; all members of the ſociety, however it might wound their perſonal feelings, were commanded to tolerate [m]. It was the recognized doc-

" quelque relâchement dans les autres, c'eſt plutoſt par " condeſcendance que par deſſein. Nous y ſommes for- " cez. Les hommes ſont aujourd'hui tellement corrom- " pus, que ne pouvant les faire venir à nous, il faut bien " que nous allions à eux." Sixieme Lettre à un Provincial, p. 83. " Les Jeſuites ſont trop bons: ils voudroient " ſauver tout le monde, et ne faire de peine à perſonne." Lettre de Meſſ. des Miſſions étrangeres au Pape, ſur les idolatries et ſur les ſuperſtitions Chinoiſes, p. 38. They lengthen the creed, ſaid the Abbé Boileau, and ſhorten the decalogue.

[m] On the doctrine of probability ſee any of the writers againſt the caſuiſtry of the Jeſuits, particularly the fifth and ſixth letters to a Provincial. The following deciſion of the Jeſuit Laimon is cited, letter v. p. 70. " Un Doc- " teur étant conſulté, peut donner un conſeil, non-ſeule- " ment probable ſelon ſon opinion; mais contraire à ſon " opinion, s'il eſt eſtimé probable par d'autres, lorſque " cet avis contraire au ſien, ſe rencontre plus favorable, et " plus agréable à celui qui le conſulte. Mais je dis de " plus, qu'il ne ſera point hors de raiſon, qu'il donne à " ceux qui le conſultent, un avis tenu pour probable par " quelque perſonne ſçavante, quand même il s'aſſeureroit " qu'il ſeroit abſolument faux."

trine

trine of the order that whoever was detected in profligacy might commit murder to avoid diſcovery; and, where princes reſiſted its ambition, it is ſuſpected of having ſtimulated the aſſaſſin, and convicted of the attempt to palliate his guilt [n].

Whatever theory of morals may be adopted, we cannot but be ſhocked at the enormity of theſe ſanctions. It is an inſult to the beſt and juſteſt feelings of our nature to pauſe ere we condemn ſuch flagrant errors; or to ſuppoſe, even for a moment, that either the dignity of virtue can be ſuſtained by them, or real utility promoted. The partial intereſts to which diſſimulation, perjury, and perhaps murder may ſeem conducive, have no tendency to the furtherance of Chriſtian truth. Thoſe practices, that ſeem to be the neareſt road to preſent greatneſs, often diverge widely from the path of laſting ſecurity; and the general conſequences of inſincerity and fraud are always evil, however the preſent effect may ſeem to be expedient.

We muſt allow, indeed, that tenets ſo impious as thoſe which have been recited could not be univerſal; nor ever willingly acknow-

[n] See Appendix XVIII.

ledged by the greater part of the individual members of the ſociety [o]. It is impoſſible that ſo numerous a body, diſtinguiſhed for its learning and exemplary in moral conduct, could have adopted into ordinary uſe that licentious caſuiſtry which has been often ſo completely expoſed, even in its moſt avowed and favourite writers. Many who may have feared to queſtion the authority on which it reſted, muſt have been reluctant to admit its truth. Many muſt have limited their acquieſcence by modifications not the leſs real in practical effect, becauſe inconſiſtent with the doctrines to which they were joined, and goodneſs of the heart may have counteracted perverſion of the underſtanding [p].

It may ſeem ſtrange, perhaps, that the latitude of principle and enormity of ambition, by which the order was characterized, ſhould

[o] "The lax metaphyſics of the Jeſuits were the effect "rather of a bad dialectic, than of a corrupted heart, and "generally pervaded the ſcholaſtic ſyſtem of theology." Chalotais, p. 54. 138.

[p] Nam qui ſummum bonum ſic inſtituit ut nihil habeat cum virtute conjunctum, idque ſuis commodis, non honeſtate metitur, hic, *ſi ſibi ipſe conſentiat et non interdum naturæ bonitate vincatur*, neque amicitiam colere poſſit, nec juſtitiam nec liberalitatem. Cic. de Off. i. 1. The exception operates moſt extenſively.

have

have been attended with no correſponding laxity in the moral conduct of individual Jeſuits. But with the reproach of immoral lives they are not juſtly to be branded [q]. Attached to the greatneſs of their ſociety with more than the uſual warmth of partizans, their ambition may partly have ſecured them from ordinary temptations. Their zeal for the appearance may have been favourable to the practice of virtue. The ages alſo, in which they flouriſhed, were far from being ſimilar to thoſe in which inſolent eccleſiaſtics could bid defiance to the reſtraints of decency, confiding in the blindneſs of the people, or ſafe from its indignation. The gates of knowledge were now at length unbarred, to be ſhut, we hope, no more; mankind had learned to reaſon and to judge; and, where the fruits of piety were wanting, could be no longer deceived by its pretence. Had not the flagitiouſneſs of the inſtitute of the Jeſuits been in ſome meaſure redeemed by the correctneſs of their perſonal behaviour, they could not have made that progreſs which they really attained in forging anew the chains of ſuperſtition: the danger

[q] D'Alembert, p. 46. Chalotais, p. 56, 57. Villers on the Reformation. (Mill's tranſlation, p. 156.)

with

with which they threatened mankind would have been leſs alarming, becauſe their power would have been leſs extenſive. Individuals were loved, even where the order was moſt deteſted; a phenomenon far from being unuſual in the page of hiſtory. In ſome caſes, a uſeful inſtitution has been abuſed by wicked men: in others, even good men have been deceived and prejudiced by a corrupt inſtitution. The ſemblance of virtue is attached to the zeal of party, and, where the odium of injuſtice is divided among a multitude, the ſalutary reſtraint of reputation but faintly operates. The character, in truth, of the order is too plainly ſtamped to be confounded with that of the individuals of whom it was compoſed. Reproached during every age of its exiſtence with the ſame crimes, involved in quarrels and intrigues in all countries, it exhibited not the various errors to which individuals are variouſly inclined by the operation of different motives, but the conſiſtent iniquity of ſyſtem. Its hiſtory exemplifies the artifice and ambition of its conſtitutions: its practice is the interpretation of its caſuiſtry.

The influence of the Jeſuits propagated by means the moſt crafty and indirect was publicly notorious in every Chriſtian court which adhered

adhered to the Romiſh perſuaſion, within thirty years after their firſt inſtitution. They fomented rebellion in France, and excited conſpiracy in England. In that country they ſucceeded not in procuring an eſtabliſhment without frequent and ignominious diſcomfiture; in this, to our unſpeakable benefit, they were completely baffled. To inveſtigate their artifices in theſe or in the other kingdoms of Europe, would lead to a ſeries of obſervations too extenſive to be compriſed in ordinary limits. Seconded by the ſure bigotry of ignorance, their ambition was attended with almoſt uniform ſucceſs, throughout all the regions of Papal ſuperſtition. Yet it ſeems worthy to be mentioned, that Portugal, from the imbecillity for which that ſtate has been ſo long remarkable, was more completely ſubjugated than any other nation to their authority; and that they were in no inſtance oppoſed with ſo firm and at the ſame time ſo temperate a reſiſtance, as by that enlightened and patriotic citizen of Venice, whom every lover of truth and liberty muſt delight to venerate and applaud[r].

Such, however, at length, and ſo formidable became their power, that the allegation of

[r] See Appendix XIX.

thoſe

thoſe who taxed them with aſpiring to univerſal monarchy may not, perhaps, be altogether groundleſs. As the educators of youth, and the confeſſors of Princes, they acquired a dominion more dangerous and, perhaps, more flattering than civil or military deſpotiſm [s]. Implicit ſervitude to the Pope was the pretence on which they obtained their primary inſtitution; and they aſſerted, amid the light of reviving literature, thoſe arrogant pretenſions of the Romiſh ſee which had been ſcarcely tolerated even in the days of darkneſs [t]. They aſſumed an independance of all

[s] "L'ambition d'avoir des diſciples, la plus forte peut-"être de toutes les ambitions." Siécle de L. XIV. ii. 256.

[t] "Habet (ſummus Pontifex) ſupremam et ampliſſi-"mam poteſtatem juriſdictionis temporalis ſuper omnes "principes: poteſt deponere reges, eoſque regnis ſuis pri-"vare, legeſque eorum infirmare: idque non ſolum cen-"ſuris ad id cogendo, ſed etiam pœnis externis, ac vi et "armis. Molina de juſt. et jure, cited Jeſuites Criminels de Leze-majeſté, 12mo. à la Haye, 1759. p. 4. note (5). See ibid. p. 5. note (9). "Poteſt (Papa) mutare regna et "uni auferre atque alteri conferre." Bellarmin, cited Chalotais, 64. "Papa deponit Imperatorem propter ip-"ſius iniquitates, et dat principibus curatores quando ipſi "fuerint inutiles ad regendum ſubditos. Papa ſine con-"cilio deponit Imperatorem, quia Papæ et Chriſti unum "eſt tribunal." "Papa poteſt deponere reges non ſolum "propter hæreſim aut ſchiſma aut aliud crimen tolerabile

"in

national or local ordinances[u], and condeſcended not, at length, to reverence even the anathemas of Rome[x]. They ſought to conciliate popularity, as occaſion might direct, either by exerciſes of mortification or pomp of ceremony. They allured ſome by patronage, they terrified others by menaces of perſecution. They retained a uniform ſpirit both in the baſeneſs of ſtooping to the great, and in the arrogance of trampling on the little. Conſcious of their numbers, and their ſtrength, the individual members ſeemed to ſhare in the im-

"in populo, ſed etiam propter inſufficientiam." Propoſitiones extractæ ex libro Santarelli, prop. 3, et 8. See Jeſuites Criminels, p. 85. and, for the hiſtory of the book of Santarellus, Dom. Inigo, ii. 73. et Monarchie des Solipſes, 60.

[u] "Nemo ex Profeſſis vel coadjutoribus, vel etiam "ſcholaſticis ſocietatis, in cauſis civilibus, nedum crimi- "nalibus, ſe examinari, ſine licentia ſuperioris, permittat. "Superior autem eam minime dabit, niſi in cauſis quæ ad "religionem Catholicam pertinent." Conſt. cited Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iv. p. 76.

On an aggreſſion of the Indians of Paraguay in 1719, which was headed by a Jeſuit, the king of Portugal makes his complaint, not to the king of Spain, but to the General of the Jeſuits, of whom in return it is juſtly ſaid, "qu'il traitoit de ſouverain à ſouverain." Hiſt. du Paraguay ſous les Jeſuites par Echavarri, i. 148, 149.

[x] See Appendix XVI. p. 28, 29.

portance

portance of the ſociety. Each of them was protected by the power, and armed with the united vengeance of the whole[y].

Such is the complete harmony with which the hiſtory and conſtitutions of the Jeſuits correſpond. I reſerve it for my concluding diſcourſe to ſhow that the indirect and crafty policy, thus ſtamped both on their conſtitutions and their hiſtory, has eventually contributed to their deſtruction, as I before propoſed to defer in the ſame manner the ſimilar obſervations which may be made on the reſult of the Papal tyranny and corruptions. There is the greater reaſon, in the preſent inſtance, for poſtponing ſuch obſervations, becauſe the particular examples of the conduct of the Jeſuits, to the examination of which I ſhall proceed, in the interval, cannot but reflect light on their general character, and enable us therefore the more accurately to perceive the manner in which that character may have operated. I

[y] "Hac indiſſolubili charitate munita ſocietas terribilis ſit ut caſtrorum acies ordinata." F. Retz, General, cited Echavarri, i. 333. "Il n'y a point de Jeſuite qui "ne puiſſe dire, comme cet eſprit malin de l'écriture, 'Je "m'appelle légion." D'Alembert, Eſſai ſur la deſtruction des Jeſuites, p. 43. See Reflexions d'un Portugais, p. 104. London, 1760.

ſhall

ſhall conclude at preſent with ſuch remarks as may be neceſſary to ſhow that the ambition and the ſophiſtry of theſe profeſſors of Chriſtianity afford no argument againſt Chriſtianity itſelf, but rather illuſtrate and confirm its truth.

Now though ſuch abuſes as thoſe which have been recited have often been alleged triumphantly, by the enemies of our religion, with the indignant taunt, "Behold the influ-"ence, behold the choſen miniſters of the "Chriſtian faith;" yet inferences to the diſadvantage of a religion from the vices of its profeſſors are not more juſt than to decry benevolence, becauſe its pretence may be aſſumed as a cloak to maliciouſneſs. If the holy name by which we are called has been profaned for the purpoſes of ambition, what virtue has ambition ſcrupled to violate? If the enthuſiaſm of religion have prepared the cords and kindled the fire of perſecution, juſtice alſo has ſometimes degenerated into cruelty, and fortitude into revenge.

Could it be proved, indeed, that the deſpotiſm of the Jeſuits is countenanced, or their caſuiſtry authoriſed by the real principles of Chriſtianity, we would be ready to unite with our adverſaries, and to demand with them that

that the religion be at once rejected. But we abandon not our hopes without examination; we faint not at the boldneſs of the charge: we demand the proceſs of trial, and we challenge ſcrutiny. The religion of Proteſtants is the doctrine of Chriſt. We refuſe to acknowledge whatever is not to be proved by the certain warrant of Scripture: and we willingly hold ourſelves reſponſible to ſhow that no charge of inconſiſtency with divine wiſdom, of inſincere and indirect ambition, of really unwiſe, though apparently politic compliance with human error, can be eſtabliſhed againſt that holy Inſtitute.

To thoſe perſons, therefore, who, juſtly abhorring the exceſſes of Jeſuitical impiety, are inclined to attribute to Chriſtianity itſelf the guilt of thoſe exceſſes, we confidently oppoſe, not the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, not the miracles of Loyola; but the total inapplicability of thoſe objections which may be reaſonably entertained againſt miſtaken or inſincere profeſſors of Chriſtianity, to the doctrine, or the example of Chriſt. Chriſt uniformly commanded his diſciples to be holy as their Father which is in heaven is holy. He never authoriſed them to compromiſe truth: never inſtructed them to palliate falſehood.

hood. He pretended not to a ſeverity of demeanour. He came eating and drinking: he converſed freely with publicans and ſinners. The preſervation of a conduct perfectly pure and unexceptionable muſt, to a man thus mixing in the detail of ordinary life, be far more difficult than perſeverance even in the extreme of aſcetic mortification. But the liberty of Jeſus was without ſpot, as his piety was beyond compariſon: his wiſdom was unſullied by inſincerity, and his zeal unmixed with violence. Utterly remote both from the ancient ferocity of the Zealots[z], and the modern frenzy of the Anabaptiſts, he deviated not, on the other hand, into the dogmatiſm or artifices of Papal or Jeſuitical tyranny. There is, in truth, no charge either of vice or error that can be alleged againſt corrupted Chriſtians, which does not appear doubly glaring, when contraſted with that unſtained purity of Chriſt himſelf, which is, by the ſame contraſt, the more conſpicuouſly repreſented to our view.

To diſtinguiſh, in this manner, the conduct of Chriſt from the conduct of inſincere or miſtaken teachers of religion, is ſufficient for the immediate argument which it has been here in-

[z] Baſnage I. vi. 11. Taylor's tranſlation.

tended to illuſtrate by an examination of the hiſtory of the Jeſuits. That we may perceive, however, with what accumulated ſtrength and emphaſis this diſtinction may be inferred, it is neceſſary to purſue the illuſtration of the Saviour's character not only into its freedom from error, but alſo into the peculiarity of its excellence. Let us forget, for a moment, thoſe numerous indications of enthuſiaſm, or of impoſture, which have been pointed out in the conduct of corrupted Chriſtians. Let us, for example, ſuppoſe the founder of the order of the Jeſuits to have merited all thoſe ſplendid eulogies with which he has been decorated by his followers, or let us ſelect from the records of hiſtory whatever favourite character may ſeem to us moſt worthy of admiration. We ſhall ſtill find that the even and unaffected propriety of the virtues of Chriſt, none of them diſtorted, and none unreaſonably preponderant, diſcriminate him not only from corrupted and miſtaken men, but even from the wiſeſt, and the beſt. In the contemplation of human virtue, it is rather the ſplendid exceſs than the accurate mean that we applaud. The higheſt eminence of courage is rarely to be found unaccompanied by temerity, nor is the habit of fortitude to be acquired

acquired, unleſs we encourage the ſpirit of daring. So alſo the moſt prepoſſeſſing examples of generoſity may be tinctured with ſome mixture of profuſion, and many of the moſt animated exertions of patriotiſm may violate the preciſe rules of liberal and enlarged benevolence. Aberrations of this kind are to be pardoned, indeed, and perhaps praiſed, as productive of more good by increaſing the activity, than of ill by tranſgreſſing the limits of virtue.

But we admire the virtues of Chriſt with the moſt lively intereſt, though they are none of them exaggerated. As he was ſuperior to the imperfections of our nature, ſo even in his excellencies he exceeded not that ſtrict and even tenour, which thoſe imperfections alone render it pardonable or proper for man to exceed. His character, though full of ſtrength and meaning, is in nothing extravagant, in nothing diſproportioned. He was pious, but not enthuſiaſtic; temperate, but not auſtere; meek, but not abject; and heroic, but not raſh. In the hiſtory of the moſt illuſtrious of mankind, we can in general readily trace their prominent and ſtriking qualities. But in the character of Chriſt, though a character poſitively great, as well as unexceptionably pure, there is no one

quality which predominates above the reſt. All the virtues are ſo intimately and harmoniouſly blended, that, to uſe an appropriate, though obvious metaphor, the whole of their colouring diſappears. They are ſimply and uniformly luminous.

Nor can this union of all the virtues in one perfect character be conſidered as leſs ſingular or impreſſive, becauſe the ſeveral virtues may be thought naturally diſpoſed to coaleſce, and the ſame cauſes which are friendly to the production of one may, in a ſimilar manner, be ſuppoſed friendly to that of all. This ſuppoſition may be true in part, but it is not true univerſally. The cauſes, which tend naturally to improve the contemplative, are not calculated to promote the active virtues. The cauſes which promote the active do not improve the contemplative. No one thing can be more different from another than the education of a philoſopher from that of a hero. Calmneſs and regularity are the nurſes of the one: difficulty and diſtreſs the energetic preceptors of the other. The different excellencies which we expect from each are the natural reſults of ſuch different preparations of the mind. We require in the philoſopher a cool and uniform tranquillity, and a life occupied in the ſerene inveſti-

inveſtigation, or the undiſturbed communication of truth. In the hero we look for a certain warmth of temperament, as not leſs proper than it is natural. We demand, not that he ſhould chooſe his object of purſuit with ſober judgment and philoſophical diſcrimination, but that he ſhould purſue whatever object he may chooſe with an earneſtneſs and vigour which a philoſopher does not poſſeſs; with an intrepidity undivided by doubt, and unchanged by misfortune, with contempt of danger and of death.

In Chriſt, and in Chriſt alone, are the ſeparate excellencies of theſe different characters united in their full perfection. It is the exact union of the contemplative and the active virtues which ſeems to conſtitute his chief peculiarity. And eminent, in truth, as each of theſe characters is by itſelf, little as it is to be expected that they ſhould be found united in the ſame perſon, yet we ſhould at leaſt have wanted that full internal evidence of his truth, which we now find in the character of Chriſt, had they not been united in him. Had he been the hero only, much as we might have admired his fortitude, or his zeal, yet we might juſtly have demanded the ſigns of divine

wiſdom in him who claimed to be the immediate meſſenger of heaven.

And though men of mild and ſtudious diſpoſitions ſeem often to have ſuppoſed that a calm and diſpaſſionate tranquillity includes every excellence of the mind, yet, I confeſs, that ſomething more might reaſonably be expected in a perfect example of life propoſed not only to the approbation of ſages, but alſo to the imitation of all men. I know not why the hardy and the active ſhould be deemed leſs eſſential and important than the retired and contemplative virtues. They may be leſs characteriſtic of the philoſopher, but they are not leſs uſeful to mankind, nor are they leſs calculated to elevate their poſſeſſor above low and ſelfiſh paſſions. It is certain, that they are not leſs conſpicuous in the holy Author of Chriſtianity. However eminent for a philoſophical equanimity, he is equally to be diſtinguiſhed by the praiſe of an heroic fortitude, and exertions of the moſt ſublime beneficence. Where elſe is the ſame combination to be found? Could we even ſuppoſe that an impoſtor or an enthuſiaſt might have diſregarded the offer of a crown, or been unmoved by the treachery of a diſciple, can it be poſſible, however,

ever, that poſſeſſing this meek and tranquil diſpoſition he ſhould have perſiſted in a uniform career, from the commencement to the cloſe of his miniſtry, always firm though never impetuous, never abaſhed by obloquy, never diſconcerted by ingratitude, never forſaken by the dignity which became the ſon of God.

Or let us advance ſtill one ſtep farther. Let us look upon the Saviour himſelf as hanging on the croſs. Even there the great intention of both his life and death was manifeſted amid the pangs of diſſolution. In that tremendous criſis, when all earthly ambition muſt be at an end, which ſo often unnerves the bold, and which, where the heart is not hardened into apathy, muſt always terrify the impoſtor, even then the holy Jeſus with his dying voice ſpake mercy and conſolation to mankind. As he took human nature upon him for man's ſalvation, and for man's ſalvation ſubmitted to a life of ſuffering, and to be condemned and ſcourged and crucified; ſo alſo, that man might not want the laſt ſolemn aſſurance which he could give, he himſelf declared, as he committed his ſpirit into the hands of God, that the work of ſalvation "was "finiſhed*." Theſe were the laſt words which

he ſpake, as this was the promiſe which had preceded his coming into the world. This is the victory which he obtained for us by his death; and which he again confirmed by his aſcenſion into that heavenly kingdom, where he hath prepared eternal manſions for them that love him.

[a] John xix. 30.

SERMON VI.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT has been ſhown that the European eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits was characterized by an indirect and ſelfiſh policy altogether oppoſite to the genuine ſpirit of Chriſtianity. The profane or injudicious conduct, by which the eccleſiaſtics of the ſame order have been diſtinguiſhed, in regions where the religion of Chriſt is yet unrecognized by public authority, has not been leſs remarkable than the intrigues of its partizans, or the ſophiſtry of its caſuiſts in Europe.

The ſupply of active and enterpriſing miſſionaries, for the purpoſe of promulgating Chriſtianity among infidel nations, was explicitly avowed as one of the moſt important objects

objects which were originally propoſed by Loyola. Expectation of the ſervices, which might be thus rendered by the Jeſuits, may probably have been among the chief inducements which conciliated the Papal approbation to their inſtitute; nor have they been, in reality, deficient either in zeal or induſtry. Private intereſts, however, and views of temporal aggrandizement have too often ſuperſeded the love of truth; and, even where the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian doctrines may not have been compromiſed from indirect motives, it has ſtill been violated by pious error.

Xavier, the canonized Xavier[a], both led the way, and has obtained the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours in the miſſionay career. Though we queſtion not the ſincerity of his religious ardour[b], yet the uſefulneſs of his religious exertions may well be doubted. He might be zealous for the converſion, but he underſtood not the languages of thoſe unlettered Indians whom he attempted to inſtruct: and, though his admirers have often claimed for him the

[a] "Novus Indiarum Apoſtolus." Bull of Canonization by Urban VIII. Fabric. Lux. Ev. p. 551. ed. Hamb. 1731.

[b] His ſincerity, probably, is not to be queſtioned. Yet his zeal ſeems upon ſome occaſions to have been manifeſted in a ſingular manner. See App. XX.

gift

gift of tongues, he ſeems not himſelf to have authoriſed that vain pretenſion [c].

The remote and extenſive empire of Japan, though it witneſſed not the laſt labours of this intrepid miſſionary, was the laſt conſpicuous ſcene in which they were diſplayed. Here, as elſewhere, he had to lament that he was ignorant of the language of the people. He had no method of communicating his inſtructions, but through the imperfect, and poſſibly unfaithful, medium of interpreters [d]. Yet the

[c] "Ac ſi nos linguam calleremus Japonicam, non du-"bito quin plurimi fierent Chriſtiani." Faxit Deus, ut "eam brevi addiſcamus, ſiquidem jamdudum guſtare cæ-"pimus. Quadraginta diebus tantum profecimus, ut jam "decem præcepta Japonice explicemus."

Xaverii Epiſt. l. iii. ep. v. p. 194. ed. Paris. apud Cramoiſy, 1631. See alſo Benard. i. p. 54, & 99.

[d] Benard i. p. 122. The aſſertion, though very confidently made, that the firſt Japaneſe convert of Xavier, who proved afterwards a moſt efficient aſſiſtant to him in his miſſionary labours, was a culprit who had fled from his country upon the commiſſion of murder, (Dom. Inigo, i. 261. Benard, i. 116.) is of ſo very invidious a complexion, that, probably, it ought not to be believed. It is a circumſtance more likely to be true, and much more important, that he owed his firſt ſucceſs to the exhibition of a beautiful picture of the Virgin. "Le monarque "idolâtre, charmé de cette peinture, et de la perſonne "qu'elle repréſentoit, ſe mit à genoux devant elle, la pre-"nant pour quelque Déeſſe." (Benard, ibid. 119. Dom. Inigo,

propagation of our religion in Japan ſeems at firſt to have been attended with ſignal ſucceſs: ſucceſs too ſoon interrupted by a perſecution unexampled, perhaps, both in ſeverity and extent. If the accounts may be credited which have been tranſmitted to us by the hiſtorian of that country [e], (a writer who is known to have been accurate, where his ſtatements have admitted of verification [f],) it was the temporal ambition of the Jeſuits which there cauſed the ſubverſion of Chriſtianity. The perfect liberty of preaching, which they had at firſt poſſeſſed, was reſtricted in conſequence of their pride and avarice; and the ſubſequent abolition of the Chriſtian name in thoſe diſtant iſlands was inflicted, not by mere tyrannical caprice, but as the puniſhment of conſpiracy [g].

Inigo, 267, 268.) A ſimilar conduct was purſued afterwards in China by Ricci and his ſucceſſors, (Le Comte, 357. Engl. Tr. Lond. 1697. 8vo.) and alſo in Siam. (Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſement du Chriſtianiſme dans les Indes Orientales, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, an. xi. vol. i. p. 275.)

[e] Kæmpfer.

[f] Niebuhr paſſim.

[g] Kæmpfer, book iv. chap. 7. and Niebuhr, vol. iv. p. 30. & ſeqq. (Eng. Tr. 8vo. 1796.)

There ſeems to have been a general ſuſpicion throughout India, (in ſome degree, it is probable, founded upon fact,) that the miſſionaries exerciſed the office of European ſpies

From Japan, our attention may eaſily be directed to the neighbouring continent of China, and it is here that we muſt look for the moſt notorious inſtances of inſincerity in Jeſuit miſſionaries. Here too they may be viewed advantageouſly, in that light by which the argument of theſe lectures is moſt properly to be contemplated, as influenced not ſo much by indirect motives as by partial conceptions; as guided by a confined, not by a conſiſtent and real policy. The hiſtory of the compliances of the Jeſuits with certain rites of the Chineſe, which are idolatrous in appear-

ſpies as well as that of Chriſtian teachers. (Hiſt. de l'Et. du Chriſtianiſme, i. 6.) The Jeſuits themſelves, it is ſaid, told the emperor of Japan that the king of Spain made uſe of monks to convert the natives of America, and then ſent troops to join with the new converts. If this be true, they do not ſeem to have obſerved, very conſiſtently, the maxim, "Qu'il étoit néceſſaire de n'établir l'autorité "du Pape que peu à peu, pour ne point effaroucher les "princes convertis, et pour les attirer peu à peu par cette "tolérance." Vie de P. Paolo, par Courayer, p. xli. "The king of Siam interrogated the French biſhops on "the authority of the Pope, and they carefully informed "him of the great gifts which Conſtantine and his ſuc-"ceſſors had given to the Church, and to the holy See. "This converſation ſeemed to pleaſe his majeſty much." Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme, ii. 185. See alſo La Croze, Chriſt. des Indes, p. 270.

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ance, was once familiar, though it is now nearly obſolete. The propriety of tolerating theſe rites in Chriſtians was warmly controverted, at the beginning of the laſt century, throughout the whole of Europe; and though this queſtion has been ſucceeded by diſcuſſions of more immediate intereſt, its records ſtill exiſt, even in a fatiguing multiplicity, from which the circumſtances, to be here ſtated, may be collected on the moſt authentic evidence, and uſually, in all eſſential particulars, from the writings of the Jeſuits themſelves.

It is not to be denied that the very conſiderable progreſs of Chriſtianity in China, during the latter part of the ſixteenth, and the whole of the ſeventeenth centuries, is chiefly to be referred to the activity of theſe miſſionaries. Favoured by the great, and admitted to the confidence of the emperor, they acquired a perſonal importance, which long enabled them to promulgate their doctrines with more than uſual advantage. Their ſtudy of influence, their love of ſcience, their concern in ſecular and military buſineſs, and the intereſts of private commerce, have proved topics of bitter reproach on which their adverſaries have frequently enlarged. An attention, however,

ever, to ſuch purſuits is ſcarcely a proper ſubject for reprehenſion, unleſs it may ſeem to oppoſe the intereſts, and abuſe the liberty of religion. Had they only facilitated the introduction of European arts and European liberality by conciliating patronage and reſpect to mental ſuperiority, they would have rendered, by this alone, an important ſervice to Chriſtianity; for long experience will warrant the obſervation, that the Chriſtian doctrines have been the moſt ſincerely profeſſed, and the moſt conſcientiouſly regarded, where the mind has been humanized by arts, and fortified by knowledge.

Nor, indeed, is remiſſneſs to be imputed to the Jeſuits in the immediate buſineſs of their miſſions. They were not ſilent in preaching the name of Chriſt, and their efforts, ſometimes facilitated by patronage, though ſometimes retarded by perſecution, extended the profeſſion of that ſacred name throughout every diſtrict of the empire. The real benefit, however, which has been derived from their proſelyting aſſiduity, cannot juſtly be appreciated, till the nature has been examined of thoſe accommodations to the exiſting manners and prejudices of China, which they were prevailed upon to allow,

allow, though, by their own confeſſion, they were deſirous to aboliſh [h].

There is a popular idolatry in China, to which the vulgar are principally attached [i]. There is a ſect which believes in and pretends to practiſe magic, and another, which is uſually ſtiled the ſect of the men of letters [k]. The ceremonies ſo much diſputed ought certainly not to be confounded with the popular idolatry. It appears, however, that rites are practiſed by the Chineſe expreſſive of veneration for the heavens; and that honours are offered to the ſouls of their deceaſed parents and anceſtors, and to the memory of Confucius, in which the ſects, termed the magical, and the lettered, unite with the idolatrous. Theſe ſeem to be the only ceremonies, the obſervance of which is particularly enforced either by cuſtom or law [l],

[h] See the Letter of Grimaldi to the Pope, No. i. Appendix XXII. "Nunquam permiſimus, licet non ita "ſtricte prohibuerimus." Father Brancati, cited, Lettre de M. Louis de Cicé, Evêque de Sabula, aux RR. PP. Jeſuites, p. 23.

[i] The religion of Fo.

[k] Le Compte, 321—323, 337.

[l] Gobien, "Hiſtoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine, "en faveur de la religion Chrétienne: avec un ecclair-

"ciſſement

and may be conſidered, therefore, as the moſt eſſential part of the national religion.

It is contended by the Jeſuits, though in oppoſition to the moſt credible evidence, that by the adoration of the heavens, the Lord of the heavens is intended to be worſhipped[m], and that it is a remnant of that pure theiſm which they ſuppoſe to have exiſted in China even from the earlieſt times[n]. It is probable, indeed, that in China, as in other countries of which we have more particular accounts, the idolatry of the vulgar was interpreted by the learned into a more philoſophical credence. We have reaſon to think that they, who were ſhocked by groſs idolatry, explained the ho-

" ciſſement ſur les honneurs que les Chinois rendent à " Confucius et aux morts. Paris, 1698, p. 227."

[m] See No. II. Appendix XXII. p. 54, 55.

[n] Le Compte, p. 312, &c. Theſe accounts, however, are manifeſtly unworthy of credit. (Lettres de MM. des Miſſions Etrangeres au Pape ſur les Idolatries et ſur les Superſtitions Chinoiſes, 12mo. pp. 99—106, 110, 111.) Perhaps a ſtronger preſumption than any which the Jeſuits have produced, for the ancient purity of worſhip among the Chineſe, may be derived from the application of the word ἄθεοι to that people by Celſus; (Burnet, Arch. p. 19.) which, could Celſus be any authority reſpecting ſo diſtant a nation, might be held to infer a freedom from groſs idolatry.

mage, or the devotions in which they joined, as being rendered to the natural virtue, or inherent divinity, which was manifeſted in the heavens; that they held doctrines not greatly differing from the pantheiſtic notion of the univerſal ſoul [o], an opinion, of which it may be obſerved, as was intimated on a former occaſion [p], that, though it avoid the name, it may be charged with the conſequences of atheiſm. Still, however, it muſt have been the religion of the ignorant to worſhip the viſible and material heavens [q]. It is no vindication of idolatry, that it is capable of being allegorically explained.

The mode of reception, indeed, among the Jeſuits themſelves, of tablets [r], which bore this inſcription, "Adore the heavens," is ſymptomatic of its doubtful interpretation. The uſe of theſe tablets they were unwilling to adopt, though they feared to decline, and they aſſerted its innocence with an anxiety which ſeems to intimate diſtruſt. At length, however, they overcame their ſcruples; they introduced theſe

[o] Le Comte, p. 338. Lettre de MM. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 47.

[p] Sermon II. p. 34.

[q] Nil præter nubes, et cœli numen adorant.

[r] See Appendix XXI.

tablets by the ſide of the ſanctuary, and afterwards on the altar itſelf[s]. The religious of other orders acceded at firſt to the ſame practice, on the authority, and after the example of the Jeſuits, but with more precaution. They feared that its offered defence might not be altogether valid, and ſuſpected that it might ſtill conceal the ſecret poiſon of idolatry. They explained and they proteſted that they might purify and correct its malignity, till at length they became aſhamed of their weakneſs, and rejected it altogether with late but manly reſolution.[t]

The ceremonies which are practiſed by the Chineſe, in honour of their deceaſed parents and anceſtors, take place ſome before and others after interment. The firſt conſiſt chiefly in offerings of flowers and perfumes, in burning of tapers, and in proſtration of the body before a table, on which is placed either the image or picture, or a tablet inſcribed with the name of the deceaſed. After interment, theſe and additional rites are repeated at ſtated intervals. The images or tablets before mentioned are preſerved in buildings or apart-

[s] Lettre de MM. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 43.

[t] Ibid. 44.

ments, reſerved in every opulent family for this ſingle purpoſe. In families not ſo conſiderable as to poſſeſs ſeparate buildings or apartments, which can be ſecluded from ordinary uſe, ſome particular part of the houſe is appropriated to theſe venerable memorials. The products of the Spring and Autumn are ſet before them with the due ſolemnities of proſtration, and of incenſe; and annual proceſſions are inſtituted to the places in which the bodies of the dead are buried, and wine, and meat, and fruits are offered on their tombs [w].

Such is the moſt ſpecious account of theſe ceremonies which their principal defender in Europe has been able to produce. It may be added, on undoubted authority, and, ſo far as relates to the practice of many among the unconverted Chineſe, it ſeems not to be denied [x]; that the tablets which have been repreſented as inſcribed with the name of the deceaſed are intitled alſo, "the ſeat of the ſpi-"rit" of him whoſe name they bear; and that, according to the formal rituals of the country, the departed ſoul is implored, not without the

[w] Gobien, 223—6. See alſo Queſtions à propoſer à la ſacrée Congrégation. Lettre de Meſſieurs des Miſſions Etrangeres, p. 81—85, &c.

[x] Gobien, 227.

ſacrifice

ſacrifice of animals, and the libation of wine, to deſcend and repoſe itſelf in theſe ſeats and ſtations; is invited to accept, and to partake of the offerings to its memory, and intreated to gratify the particular deſires, and to relieve the temporal wants of thoſe who pray to it[y].

The ceremonies of the Chineſe in honour of Confucius were of a ſimilar kind. They proſtrated themſelves either before his image, or a tablet which bore his name. They immolated victims to his honour, in temples dedicated by the aſperſion of the blood of animals: they prepared themſelves by faſting and continence for the exerciſe of theſe ſolemnities. The name, which was engraved on the gate of the temple of Confucius, was engraved alſo on all the temples of idols. The term made uſe of to denote the ſacrifice offered to him is the ſame

[y] Lettres de Meſſ. des Miſſions Etr. p. 69, &c. Dom. Inigo, i. 317.

"Nam et a primordio ludi bifariam cenſebantur ſacri et "funebres, id eſt Diis nationum et mortuis. Sed de ido- "lolatria nihil differt apud nos ſub quo nomine et titulo, "dum ad eoſdem ſpiritus perveniat, quibus renuntiamus, "licet mortuis, licet Diis ſuis faciant. Proinde mortuis "ſuis ut Diis faciant, unæ conditio partis utriuſque eſt, "una idololatria, una renuntiatio noſtra adverſus idolola- "triam." Tertullian de Spectaculis, cap. vi. §. 3.

which is uſed by the Jeſuits themſelves, to ſignify the auguſt ſacrifice of Chriſt: and, in the more ſolemn feſtivals, after he has been invited to deſcend, a miniſter of the temple exclaims aloud, "The ſpirit of Confucius is deſcended[z]."

Theſe ceremonies, of which to Europeans at leaſt it could not be denied that they bore the ſemblance of idolatry, the Jeſuits defended in the Chineſe proſelytes, as juſtifiable by the known fact that the Chineſe were an extremely ceremonious people; that, in the common intercourſe of living perſons among them, proſtrations were extremely common; and that the meaning attached to ſuch proſtrations was no other than is attributed by Europeans to the common intercourſe of civility, and tranſgreſſed not the bounds of grateful remembrance, and of decent reſpect[a]. Yet to offer ſacrifices, to burn

[z] Le Compte, Lettre au Monſeign. le Duc de Maine, cited 1ere Lettre ſur les Cérémonies Chinoiſes, p. 19. Lettre de MM. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 23, 26, 64—66. Etat de la Queſtion. Ibid. p. 135, 6. Gobien, Ecclairciſſement ſur les honneurs, &c. Hiſt. de l'Ed. p. 221. Cicé, Lettre aux Jeſuites, p. 17, 21, 22. 2de Lettre ſur les C. C. p. 6.

[a] See Gobien, p. 219, 229. The ceremonies, however, of idolatry do not ſeem to be the more excuſable becauſe offered to a living perſon. "The emperor of China," like the Roman emperors, "is in the habit of being wor-

"ſhipped

incenſe, to bury the ſkins and the blood of victims that they may not be profaned[b], to invoke the power of the dead, and to fall proſtrate before the image of Confucius, ſeems to admit of no other poſſible interpretation than that of religious worſhip. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that, in ſome inſtances at leaſt, the image of Confucius was placed in the ſame temple with idols of acknowledged Paganiſm, and received from the vulgar a ſimilar adoration[c]. If, then, the adoration of thoſe Pagan idols was of a religious nature, the meaning of the ſame ceremonies muſt have been religious alſo, when offered to the images or ſymbols of Confucius. Could this be for a moment

"ſhipped as a god." Van Braam's Embaſſy, vol. ii. 223. Engl. Tr. 8vo. 1798. Mr. Van Braam, on one occaſion, ſeems to have worſhipped him.

I ſhall ſubjoin, in the Appendix XXII. certain papers of unqueſtionable authenticity, in which the Jeſuits attempt to defend their accommodations to the Chineſe ceremonies. They will be here cited from the firſt volume of Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, London, 1728. 8vo.

[b] I. Lettre ſur les Cérémonies Chinoiſes, p. 8.

[c] "Hujus Dei (Confuſii ſcil.) ſtatuæ variæ quoque "ſunt, aliæ in templis prægrandes, aliæ parvæ, &c. "* * * * *. A dextris aſſiſtit (by the ſide of the idols "Fo and Laokien) celeberrimus ille inter numina pariter "relatus Confuſius." Kircher, China illuſtrata, fol. 132. 136. See the Print, p. 137.

doubtful, the queſtion has been decided by the Jeſuits themſelves. Had they been really convinced that the ceremonies which they tolerated were purely civil, why did they inſtruct their converts to avoid the practice of theſe ceremonies whenever it was not indiſpenſable[d]? The averſion thus intimated implies a doubt, at leaſt, of their propriety. Why, if they held as innocent the ceremonies of proſtration and of burning perfumes before the venerated tablets of the Chineſe, why did they aſſert the expediency of adding to thoſe relics either an image of Chriſt, or a croſs, or a tablet inſcribed with the name of Jeſus, whether to ſhare the worſhip, or to ſanctify the adoration[e]?

It muſt be obſerved, alſo, that, allowing the utmoſt weight to the apologies of the Jeſuits, the ceremonies which they tolerated as innocent were of the ſame kind, and differed in degree only from thoſe which they reprobated as idolatrous. This circumſtance alone may prove the invalidity of their defence; for,

[d] Dilucidationes pro Soc. Jeſu. Lettre de MM. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 35. Gobien, p. 220, 309.

[e] Gobien, 281, 282. Lettre de M. de Cicé, p. 30. See Appendix XXIII.

though

though it be granted that where there is no ſuſpicion of idolatry, great latitude may ſafely be permitted in the expreſſions of reſpect both to the living and the dead, yet in a country where it is notorious that an avowed adoration is paid by avowed idolaters to the material heavens, to the ſouls of the dead, and to the ſpirit of Confucius; it is undeniable that the ceremonies of proſtration before images, the burning of incenſe, and the appoſition of wine muſt have partaken of the nature of idolatry.

With a diſtinction, however, which ſcarcely could have been expected, the Jeſuits admitted that theſe ceremonies and others of the ſame deſcription were of a ſuperſtitious and idolatrous nature, when practiſed by thoſe perſons who believed the popular religion of the Chineſe. They doubted not that an idolatrous meaning was attached to them by idolaters. When practiſed, however, by the learned among the Chineſe, whom they accounted atheiſts, or by the Chriſtian converts whom they conſidered as untainted with idolatry, they pronounced the ſame ceremonies to be innocent [f]. They inferred, probably, upon the

[f] II. Lettre ſur les Cérémonies de la Chine, p. 17. and the decree of the congregation de Propagandâ, recited in the

principles of their uſual caſuiſtry, that as the intention conſtituted the culpable part of idolatry, and as all ceremonies, by which a confidence in falſe gods was not intended to be expreſſed, were of a nature purely civil; therefore all external acts which, it might be preſumed, were adopted ſolely for the purpoſe of a compliance with exiſting laws and inſtitutions, might ſafely be allowed. The fact which they aſſume is queſtionable in itſelf. It is certain that neither profeſſed nor real unbelief of any particular religion, or of religion in general, is by any means a preſervative from ſuperſtition. Many who diſbelieved the popular idolatry might ſtill annex ſome meaning to the rites in which they joined, and it is ſupported by unimpeachable evidence that the atheiſtical philoſophers of China did believe that there exiſted a certain virtue in the offerings to the deceaſed[g]. But admitting to its

the Lettre de MM. des Miſſions Etrangeres, p. 162. and ibid. 179. So alſo the Jeſuits reaſoned in India. "L'uſage de ces cendres eſt ſuperſtitieux pour les Gentils, me repondit alors bruſquement l'Eveque, mais non pas pour les Chrétiens qui ont une autre intention." Norbert, Mem. Hiſt. ſur les Miſſions des Jeſuites, vol. ii. p. 409. ed. Beſançon, 1747, 4to.

[g] Lettre de Meſſ. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 79, 80.

utmoſt

utmoſt extent the ſuppoſition of ſuch an unmeaning and merely ritual conformity, on which this ſingular defence is reſted, yet, if ſuch inſincerity be allowed to the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, in what province of falſehood are the boundaries of hypocriſy to be fixed? Where can the diſtinction between idolatry and the Chriſtian religion, a diſtinction always neceſſary to be made ſtriking to thoſe to whom the Chriſtian religion is propoſed, where can this diſtinction be pointed out, nay, how can it exiſt, if ceremonies to which an idolatrous meaning is annexed by idolaters, are allowed to profeſſing Chriſtians, living in the very midſt of known idolatry? It is not poſſible that any explanatory qualification can apologize in the one caſe for practices which are indefenſible in the other. Why, likewiſe, if it may be permitted to a Chineſe to comply with the idolatries of the vulgar, becauſe he affixes to them himſelf no meaning, and uſes them only from civil and political, not from religious motives, why were not the infidel philoſophers of Greece and Rome, who though they did not believe in, yet ſacrificed as citizens to the recognized deities of their country, permitted by the primitive teachers of

of Chriſtianity to continue their oblations on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo [h] ?

To refer, however, to the practice of the firſt age of Chriſtianity, exhibits an immediate contraſt to the labours of the Jeſuits in China, too ſtrong to require a particular expoſure. In the early hiſtory of the church we have the teſtimony of heathens, that the converts to our religion were ready to die rather than offer

[h] A ſimilar permiſſion to retain the practice of Mahometan rites is ſaid to have been given by the Jeſuits to the Chriſtian converts in the iſland of Chios.

" Le célebre P. Serry avoit avancé dans la Défenſe du " Jugement rendu par le ſaint Siege ſur les idolatries Chi- " noiſes, que les Jeſuites de l'iſle de Chio dans l'Archi- " pel y permettoient à leurs pénitentes l'exercice extérieur " de la religion Mahométane, pourvu qu'elles conſer- " vaſſent dans l'intérieur la foi en Jeſus Chriſt : que ces " Peres y adminiſtroient en cachette les Sacremens à di- " verſes femmes qui vivoient dans cette diſſimulation cri- " minelle, et que cet abus impie fut découvert in 1694. " Les Jeſuites s'étant inſcrits en faux contre cette accuſa- " tion, l'Archevêque de Corinthe, qui étoit ſur les lieux " lorſque il avoit fait cette découverte, la confirma par une " déclaration du 4 Juin, 1710, ce qui fut auſſi atteſté par " d'autres déclarations."

" Voyez cette déclaration en entier dans une brochure " intitulée, Le Mahométiſme toléré par les Jeſuites dans " l'iſle de Chio, et qui parut en 1711." Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. 3. 48.

ſuch

ſuch honours to the ſtatues of the Pagan deities, or of the Roman emperors, as were permitted by the Jeſuits to be paid in China to the memory of Confucius, and the ſymbols of the dead. We have the witneſs of enemies that, in the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, the ſcandal of the croſs was never concealed through the apprehenſion of offending either Jew or Gentile; while the Jeſuits who preached the glory, and declared the triumph, were often ſilent on the crucifixion of our Lord [1].

There is one part, indeed, of the hiſtory of the Apoſtles, which ſeems to exhibit a peculiar contraſt to the conduct adopted by the Jeſuits towards the literary ſect of the Chineſe. Once, at leaſt, in the courſe of his miniſtry, St. Paul addreſſed himſelf to a learned, to an Athenian tribunal. He wiſely adapted to local circum-

[1] Stillingfleet on the Diviſions of the Romiſh Clergy. Works, v. 169. Lettres Provinciales, p. 61. In Fleming's Chriſtology (vol. ii. p. 18—21. cited Millar, ii. 291—293.) is a long detail of the military pomp, the regal and archangelic magnificence with which the Jeſuits of China aſſerted the coming of Chriſt to have been attended. The ſtable at Nazareth is entirely forgotten, and it is ſaid that when at length our Saviour "took his leave of Peter "and his biſhops, he went to heaven with his army in "the ſame glorious and triumphant manner in which he "came."

ſtances

ſtances the mode in which he declared the exiſtence of the Supreme. He alluded to a received theology: he quoted a philoſophical poet. Had he proceeded to expatiate on the harmony which conſtituted the eſſence of the divinity, or the indolent ſecurity in which it repoſed, the Academic and the Epicurean might have approved the ingenuity of his harangue. But the incredulous was diſmayed and the ſceptic revolted, when the preacher urged the important but unpopular doctrines of repentance, reſurrection, and judgment. "Some "mocked, and others ſaid, We will hear thee "again of this matter." The apparent repulſe, however, was attended with a real progreſs, which ſpeculations of a nature more conciliating to the prejudices of his hearers might not have obtained. "The apoſtle de-"parted from among them. Howbeit certain "men clave unto him, and believed."

Every thing that can be granted to the explanations and apologies of the Jeſuits, reſpecting their accommodations to the rites and prejudices of the Chineſe, is this only, that their reaſoning may have a partial weight before a Popiſh tribunal, which with Proteſtants it does not poſſeſs. It cannot be denied that the ceremonies offered by the Chineſe to the memory

memory of Confucius, and to the ſouls of the defunct, have a parallel in the invocations of the Romiſh ſaints [k]. The only difference which can be urged is, that the honours, which in the one caſe are rendered to Heathens, are in the other rendered to Chriſtians: a difference in the object, but not in the nature or guilt of the idolatry; certainly not in its abſurdity, for it would be a vain attempt to degrade the great philoſopher of China, though a Heathen, to a level with moſt of thoſe names which fill the Roman martyrology [l].

The propriety, however, of allowing Chriſtians to practiſe the Chineſe ceremonies, when firſt it was referred to Rome, was negatived without reſerve [m]. During the rage of

[k] "Nous n'avons pas plus de raiſon d'accuſer d'idolatrie les cérémonies Chinoiſes envers Confucius et les morts, qu'en auroient les Chinois de condamner d'idolatrie nos proſternemens devant les images des ſaints." Le Comte, cited 1ere Lettre ſur les Cérémonies Chinoiſes, p. 11. It may be obſerved alſo in Letter 2. p. 20. to what difficulties the Roman Catholic adverſaries of the Jeſuits are reduced by the Popiſh worſhip of images.

[l] Was this the opinion of the Jeſuits when they declared Confucius to have died *en odeur de ſainteté?*

[m] See the decree of the congregation de Propagandâ, confirmed by Innocent X. in 1645. It is recited in the "Etat

the ſucceeding controverſy, the Popes, as they were friendly or adverſe to the intereſts of the Jeſuits, either openly condemned or indirectly protected the compliances which have been recited. At length, however, a juſt ſenſe of their enormity ſeems conſiſtently to have pervaded the Papal councils; and legates were repeatedly ſent from Rome to China, partly to endeavour to gain the emperor's conſent to the toleration of pure Chriſtianity, partly to declare that Chriſtians were never to be permitted to join in the diſputed ceremonies [n].

"Etat de la Queſtion," ſubjoined to the Lettre de Meſſ. des Miſſ. Etr. p. 162. The Pope declared upon this occaſion that the ſuſpected ceremonies ought not to be permitted, even though the refuſal ſhould be attended with the entire extinction of Chriſtianity in China. (Lettre de MM. des M. E. p. 11.) For an account of the addreſs with which the Jeſuits obtained a partial opinion in their favour from Alexander VII. in 1656, ſee ibid. p. 13. The ſucceeding Popes poſtponed the determination of the queſtion from time to time, but their deciſions at laſt ſeem to have been uniformly oppoſed to the compliances of the Jeſuits. See the decree of Clement XI. in 1710: the bull Ex illa die, publiſhed in 1715, and the reiterated edicts of Benedict XIV. Norbert, vol. iii. p. 655, 658, 661, &c. and Hiſt. du Chriſtianiſme, i. 248.

[n] For an account of the embaſſies from Rome to China of the Cardinal de Tournon in 1705, and of Mezzabarba in 1720, ſee the notes to De Mailla, Hiſt. Gen. de la Chine,

The Jeſuits, though this order proceeded from an authority to which they had promiſed an implicit obedience, in ſome inſtances eluded, in others ſecretly counteracted it[o]. They neglected or deſpiſed the ſecular eccleſiaſtics, by whom the decrees of the Pope were tranſmitted[p]. His embaſſies they exerted all their influence to fruſtrate, they thwarted and they

Chine, vol. xi. p. 309. & 337. and Norbert, part i. liv. x, xi.

[o] "The procurators of the ſociety being aſſembled at "Rome in 1711, it was reſolved, that, to ſtop the mouths "of thoſe who calumniated the ſociety, a declaration as "explicit upon this queſtion as poſſible ſhould be pre-"ſented to the Pope. The General accordingly (Tam-"burini) preſented ſuch a declaration, ſigned by himſelf, "by his four aſſiſtants, and by twenty-three Procurators, "and it muſt be confeſſed that no fuller or more formal "proteſtations could be made of a reſolution to ſubmit to "the decrees of Clement XI. reſpecting the Chineſe ce-"remonies, without any contradiction, tergiverſation, or "delay. Notwithſtanding this, the General wrote at the "ſame time to Father Grimaldi, the viſitor of the Jeſuits "in China, and one of the moſt violent perſecutors of "Cardinal de Tournon, exhorting him to animate him-"ſelf in his old age with new courage in defence of the "rites of the Chineſe, and aſſerting that the new decree "of the Pope was in their favour." Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iii. 46.

[p] Letter of the Biſhop of Nankin, quoted, Reflexions d'un Portugais, p. 46.

perſecuted his legates: they even openly refuſed obedience to his expreſs commands, aſſerting, that, had he been better informed, he would have adopted different opinions [q]. It is ſaid that at one time they procured, by their influence with the emperor, the baniſhment of thoſe miſſionaries, who refuſed to concur with them in tolerating the ceremonies [r]; that on another occaſion they entered into a conſpiracy to change the ſucceſſion of the crown, and that on the diſcovery of theſe intrigues a general perſecution of Chriſtianity enſued [s].

Had the immediate reſult of this ſyſtem of accommodation to the ceremonies of China been as ſucceſsful as the Jeſuits could have wiſhed, its eventual conſequence would ſtill, probably, have been far from beneficial. But the revocation of all the privileges, which were accorded to the Chriſtians in conſequence

[q] Hiſt. Gen. de la Chine, ubi ſupra. "Jamais Rome," ſays Pere le Comte, "ne decidera rien ſur ces miſſions qui "nous oblige: puiſque nous pourrons toujours proteſter "auſſi bien qu'eux, qu'elle n'a pas été fidellement infor-"mée de la vérité des faits." Le Comte, cited, 1. Lettre ſur les Cérémonies Chinoiſes, p. 63.

[r] Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſuites, iii. 95, 96.

[s] Preface to Jeſuites Criminels, p. xvii, xix, xx. See alſo the avowals of P. Morao, and his ſentence of death, ibid. and Norbert, ii. p. 79. note.

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of theſe dangerous conceſſions, by the ſame emperor who had firſt granted them; and the almoſt total overthrow of the religion during the reign of his ſucceſſor [t], is a ſtriking hiſtorical exemplification of the almoſt uniform fate of policy unregulated by truth. Of the Jeſuits a few perſons, recommended by their knowledge or their ſervices, were retained in the capital of China; but all their attempts to reſtore the general toleration of Chriſtianity have proved abortive [u]. They have incurred the diſgrace, without having obtained the ends, of falſehood. They have impeded by their diſgraceful failure the future propagation of Chriſtianity, while they have ſo far corrupted its truth and evidence, that they have left no ſeeds behind, which might take root for future harveſt. They truſted for the promotion of the faith to their own political ingenuity, and to the patronage of the court. Thus they ſought by a religion of which they had mingled the truth with ſuperſtition to ſupplant a religion altogether ſuperſtitious. Now that they have been fruſtrated in their attempt, all re-

[t] Hiſt Gen. de la Chine, vol. xi. note (1) p. 337. and pp. 378, 379. 383. 390, 391.

[u] See Appendix XXIV.

ference to its hiſtory muſt, in China, be attended with a contemplation of the ſuperſtition united with the truth. The attention which is neceſſary to ſeparate the one from the other is ſeldom to be expected from the careleſſneſs of an ordinary inquirer. He is repulſed by the firſt appearance of ſuperſtition, and heſitates not to reject the religion with which it is connected. On the other hand, had truth alone been preached, though even truth might have been, for a time, rejected, yet it might have been committed with full ſecurity to the ſilent progreſs of reaſon. Even now, perhaps, whilſt we are lamenting its temporary diſappointment, we might have triumphed in its ſucceſs. We might have rejoiced that the moſt populous kingdom of the world had already received in ſincerity thoſe conſoling doctrines, which, we know by the ſure word of God, will eventually be extended even to the uttermoſt ends of the earth.

The miſſionaries, it is true, did not perceive the narrowneſs of their policy. Though they cannot be vindicated from the imputation of having countenanced ſuperſtitions of which they ſaw the error, yet they were not ſo unprincipled as willingly to ſacrifice for partial advantage the general propagation of Chriſtianity. They

They thought, doubtleſs, that the indirect compliances which were intended to facilitate its immediate reception, would be conducive to its future univerſality; an error not ſurpriſing in men who were educated in the ſtricteſt habits of corporate and religious ſervitude, and who by the prejudices of their education were incapacitated from perceiving juſtly the difference between thoſe means which promote the preſent intereſts of party, and thoſe which conduce to the ultimate ſecurity and ſucceſs of truth.

Such was the error of the Jeſuit miſſionaries. It has been already aſked, and I may be permitted to repeat the queſtion; If Chriſt was not endued with more than human knowledge, whence could he derive the ſuperior penetration which he evinced? Was it the part of an enthuſiaſt to ſhake off for the firſt time the trammels of popular ſuperſtition? to foreſee, as ſeems to have been foreſeen clearly by the author of Chriſtianity, that ſpeculators on religion would aſſume in future a novel character, and exact a congruity to the attributes of God, in thoſe inſtitutions where little had been before conſidered but their adaptation to the prejudices of mankind? Or, if the ſuppoſition of enthuſiaſm cannot be defended, is it to

be imagined that the conduct of an impoſtor would exhibit the diſtinction between wiſdom and cunning, between real policy and diſſimulation? If theſe hidden truths were in any way, on any ſuppoſition whatever, diſcoverable by a mere man, why were they not diſcovered by the Romiſh miſſionaries? What advantage in point of knowledge could the uneducated ſon of Mary poſſeſs over the moſt learned order of all the eccleſiaſtical ſocieties; which the hiſtory of fifteen centuries elapſed ſince the origin of Chriſtianity had inſtructed not only in political, but ſtill more in religious information? What inducement to diſſimulation could have been wanting to Chriſt, which occurred to the miſſionaries? the one deſpiſed as a Jew throughout the Gentile world, and ſtigmatized in Judea as a Nazarene: the others protected by the authority, as they acted under the ſanction of the Roman Pontiff; reverenced for intellectual ability, and vain of ſpiritual power.

The more particularly this queſtion is diſcuſſed, the more abundant will be the aſſurance with which the Chriſtian will be enabled to conclude, that the author of our religion muſt neceſſarily have been a meſſenger from on high. The difficulties are inſuperable which

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are involved by every other ſuppoſition. And, indeed, the certain, though, perhaps, unperceived operation of theſe difficulties extorts even from the adverſaries of Chriſtianity a ſilent evidence of its truth, in that they uſually abſtain from all detailed examination of the conduct or character of Chriſt. That they venture not on ſuch an examination becauſe they fear its conſequences, I certainly preſume not to ſuppoſe. We do not deny that the unbeliever may be a ſincere inquirer after truth. It is the juſtneſs of his opinions that we controvert, not the ſincerity with which he holds them. There is a natural bias, even where no fallacy is intended, to oppoſe the proceſſes of correct and rational analyſis by obſervations of a looſe and general kind, by rhetorical amplifications, or by ridicule.

This bias, however, is rarely felt but by the advocate of error: the advocate of truth reſorts, naturally, to the methods of ſtrict and particular diſcuſſion; and they both, perhaps, adopt, reſpectively, theſe different modes of argumentation, unconſcious of the cauſes by which they are influenced in adopting them. Thoſe cauſes are founded rather in the nature of truth, and in that of error, than in the art of reaſoning; but the differences

which they create are for that very reaſon of the more eſſential and deciſive importance. Though it juſtifies not the charge of inſincerity, it argues, then, ſome defect, at leaſt, in the conduct of the underſtanding, to decline the cloſeſt and moſt accurate inveſtigation of a character, which muſt be allowed even by the unbeliever himſelf to poſſeſs ſo many claims to our attention as that of Chriſt. A cloſe and accurate inveſtigation of that character is what the defenders of the truth of Chriſtianity both deſire and demand. A preſumption, therefore, ariſes in our favour even from the method of argumentation which we employ. And in proſecuting this method, we are led irreſiſtibly to acknowledge, that the whole conduct of Chriſt is, in all reſpects, ſo thoroughly removed from every imputation of falſehood, that, the more rigid the teſt to which it is ſubjected, the more ſincere and perfect it is found. It derives every way new excellence and luſtre from thoſe ſtrict and certain criteria, by which divine revelation is to be diſtinguiſhed from enthuſiaſtic error, and truth may be known accurately from impoſture.

SERMON VII.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

THE goſpel of Chriſt inculcates no preference, admits of no excluſion, is open both to Jew and Gentile, offers the ſame ſalvation to bond and free. No corruption is more repugnant to its ſpirit than to aſſume or recognize a difference between man and man, in the favour of their impartial God. Such is the corruption, which the miſſionaries of the Jeſuits have ſanctioned in the Eaſt, by accommodating the Chriſtianity which they preached to the caſts of Brahminical ſuperſtition.

The natives of Hindoſtan, it is well known, have been long divided into orders widely diſcriminated from each other. Intermarriage and domeſtic intercourſe are forbidden between

tween them all [a]. The fifth and loweſt of theſe orders is ſunk in a ſtate of degradation unparalleled among mankind. Its very preſence is offenſive, and its touch pollutes [b]. Europeans, by mixing with the wretched outcaſts, of whom this laſt tribe is compoſed, as with beings of a common nature [c], ſeem long to have ſhared in the ſame contempt with which they were treated. This contempt was a difficulty ſcarcely to be ſurmounted by the teachers of Chriſtianity in exerciſing the miſ-

[a] Raynal, i. 55. 4to. Geneve, 1780. See the Laws of Menu, tranſlated by Sir W. Jones.

[b] Ray. 53. It is not, perhaps, altogether accurate to ſpeak of the Parias as a fifth *caſt*, or *tribe*. It is ſaid that, properly, they are to be conſidered as excluded from all *caſt*. As this, however, is a mere queſtion of words, and, particularly, as the preciſe meaning and varieties of *caſt* may be ſtill but imperfectly known, it ſeems beſt to adhere to the language of preceding writers. See the Introduction to Orme's Hiſtory of the War in India. "....des Par-" reas; ne voulant pas favoriſer la fauſſe idée des Indiens " à l'égard de cette caſte." Norbert, i. p. 12. note. See note (f) to this Sermon. "Harri Caſt." Dow's Diſſ. prefixed to the firſt volume of the tranſlation of Feriſhta, p. xxxii. "Outre ces tribus, il y en a une cinquième " qui eſt le rebut de toutes les autres." Raynal, 53. " Les hommes de toutes les caſtes honnêtes." Ibid. 56. " La diſtinction des quatres premieres caſtes." Ibid. 38.

[c] Ibid. 55.

ſionary

ſionary office. A nation bigotted to its idolatries, and vain of an hereditary prieſthood, to which it attributed a divine origin, was little diſpoſed to hear with impartiality, or to regard with reverence, the religious doctrines of men who converſed freely with perſons whom it both hated and deſpiſed.

The Capuchins, accordingly, who eſtabliſhed the firſt miſſions to India, lament uniformly the ſyſtem of caſts among the Hindus, as being the great obſtacle to their converſion. It is ſaid never to have been in any degree countenanced by that religious order. The Jeſuits, on the other hand, too unreſervedly anxious to conciliate the prejudices of Hindoſtan, conſented, though not without ſome feelings of compunction, to acquieſce in theſe diſtinctions [d]. To ingratiate themſelves with the ſuperior caſts, they prohibited the unhappy Parias from aſſembling in the ſame place of worſhip [e], and, conſequently, from communicating at the ſame table. The baptiſmal font, at which the children of the nobler orders were

[d] Norbert, i. 9, 10. ii. 228. 295. Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 212, &c. Mickle's Luſiad. p. 473. 4to. ed. 1778.

[e] Norbert, i. 10, 11. This was the caſe even at Pondicheri. Ibid. ii. 414, 416, 417.

admitted

admitted into the Chriſtian church, was never to be profaned by the ſprinkling of the ſame water on the progeny of that deteſted tribe. The Jeſuit miſſionaries profeſſed the ſame abhorrence of the defilement communicated by the touch of the Paria, as was teſtified by the prieſts of Brahmá. They refuſed to enter his roof even when he lay at the point of death, either as the meſſengers of religious conſolation, or to adminiſter the Romiſh ſacraments. They refuſed to ſee him when ſick, unleſs he was brought to the threſhold of his door, and even then made uſe of inſtruments to apply the conſecrated oil, that their own perſons might incur no pollution [f].

Corrupted as is the church of Rome from the purity of the Chriſtian faith, an abuſe ſo glaring as this which has been deſcribed could not fail, at leaſt in the eighteenth century, to incur its reprobation. The cardinal Lambertini had long oppoſed the accommodating po-

[f] Ibid. and ii. 143. iii. 603. It ſeems that, in ſome inſtances, they refuſed to hold any communication with the Parias but with ſpeaking trumpets. "Et que voulant "paſſer pour brammes, vos miſſionaires ne peuvent plus "communiquer avec les autres caſtes, qu'avec des trom-"pettes parlantes." Lettre du gouverneur de Pondicheri au P. Tachard, Jeſuite, ibid. i. 214.

licy

licy of the Jeſuits [g], and, when elevated to the Papal dignity by the title of Benedict the fourteenth, he condemned their practices formally and without reſerve. This crafty order, however, always fertile in expedients, contrived to evade the ſentence fulminated againſt them by a compromiſe, to which it is ſurpriſing that the court of Rome ſhould have at all ſubmitted; to which it is ſtill more ſurpriſing that it ſhould appear willingly to have conſented. After explicitly condemning the conduct which had been before purſued, the bull iſſued by Benedict thus proceeds. "It has "fortunately happened that the miſſionaries "of the ſociety of Jeſus have promiſed that, "with our conſent, they will depute a certain "number of miſſionaries, whoſe principal care "ſhall be directed to convert and to inſtruct "the Parias. As theſe means appear to us "ſufficient for the end propoſed, the conver-"ſion and ſalvation of theſe perſons, we ac-"cept them with all the teſtimonies of a pa-"ternal joy, we approve them, and recom-"mend their practice [h]" Who ſees not that

[g] Norbert, ii. 14, &c.

[h] Bull Omnium Sollicitudinum, 1744. Norbert, iii.

by this permiſſion the grand abuſe, which had before exiſted, is tolerated and confirmed? Chriſt is ſtill divided. The principal care, which certain miſſionaries are appointed to beſtow on the unhappy Parias, muſt neceſſarily, in the circumſtances of the caſe, be excluſive, and the prejudices of the ſuperior caſts are ſanctioned by acquieſcence. It is extraordinary that ſo groſs an inconſiſtency ſhould have been admitted into a decree of which the general tenour is highly liberal and enlightened, and which proceeds to repeat, in expreſs terms, the undeniable doctrine of the Apoſtle, that there is no diſtinction between bond and free among them which are the children of God by faith which is in Chriſt Jeſus[i]. It places, however, in a ſtrong light the inſinuating policy of the Jeſuits, and their invincible attachment to a ſyſtem of teaching Chriſtianity which was regulated by views of particular expediency.

The four firſt caſts of the Hindus lay claim to a divine origin, as the deſcendants of Brahmá, and the prieſts are allowed a high preeminence of dignity[k]. The Jeſuits, that they

[i] Gal. iii. 26, 28.

[k] Raynal, i. 38. Norbert, i. 42. Laws of Menu, tranſlated by Sir W. Jones, i. §. 31.

night procure for themſelves the ſame reſpect, profeſſed themſelves to be deſcendants of the ſame deity, and aſſumed the habit of the Indian prieſthood. They aſſerted the title and attributes of European Brahmens, and pretended to exhibit written documents of their eſtabliſhment in the Weſt, from a period more remote than that which their Aſiatic brethren claimed as the date of their inſtitution in the fabulous antiquity of Hindoſtan. One of the moſt eminent of the miſſionaries, on whom the title of apoſtle ſeems commonly to have been beſtowed, declared by oath to the diſtruſtful Indians, that he himſelf was deſcended from their own paternal deity. He embraced the ſtricteſt ſect of their religion, and exacted a perſonal homage which ſcarcely differed from adoration [1].

The Hindus were authoriſed by the Jeſuits

[1] This Jeſuit was Nobili. Moſheim, ii. 289. Millar's Prop. of Chriſtianity, ii. 239. Norbert, i. 14. ii. 143. note (a). The Jeſuits in India habited themſelves as Sanias: they abſtained from the fleſh of the cow, which, for known reaſons, is held ſacred by the Hindus: (Norbert, ii. 415. iii. 69.) and it is ſaid, that, jealous of the rival order of the Capuchins, they vilified them as being Europeans of the loweſt caſt, and refuſed to eat with them. Ibid. i. 11. note (b), ii. 420.

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to continue in their profeſſion of Chriſtianity the uſage of aſhes made from a ſubſtance particularly connected with the idolatries of their country, and rubbed on the body with ſuperſtitious ceremonies[m]. They were even permitted to repeat the cuſtomary invocations of heathen gods[n]. It was uſual to frequent the bath only at certain times, and with peculiar ceremonies and prayers. The compliance with theſe practices was allowed by the Jeſuits to their Indian converts, with the reſervation, on principles well known in Europe, that they were to direct their intention ſolely to the phyſical uſes of ablution[o]. In the rites of marriage, and of burial, much was tolerated that was decidedly ſuperſtitious, more that was of queſtionable propriety[p] In ſome inſtances, alſo, idolatries were adopted from choice, without even a pretenſion of neceſſity. The worſhip of the Virgin was introduced in India, and was taught to aſſume a peculiar likeneſs to that of Pagan idols. A ſtudied reference to Pagan ceremonies was maintained, the muſical inſtruments uſed in the proceſſion

[m] Millar's Prop. of Chriſtianity, ii. 276.
[n] Norbert, ii. 241—243.
[o] Ibid. i. 46, 47.
[p] Ibid. ii. 417.

were

were borrowed from Pagan temples, and the image itſelf was attired with Pagan ornaments [q].

It is not doubtful that, by ſuch compliances with the prejudices of an ignorant people, a very conſiderable number of converts to a nominal Chriſtianity might eaſily be gained [r]. It would readily be believed to be a variety of Paganiſm. Novelty is always prepoſſeſſing, when it does not involve a contradiction to received opinions and cuſtoms; and the gratification which the Hindus would naturally feel, in ſeeing the rites of their old religion adopted by Europeans, was not likely to be much impaired by any repugnance to novel explications of their creed, or the concurrent admiſſion of a new worſhip [s].

[q] Norbert, i. 62. ii. 429.

[r] Father Royer of Tonquin announces in a letter of Dec. 15, 1707, (Lettres Edifiantes, x. 433.) that he had baptized in the courſe of that year 1077 adults, and 955 children. Norbert, iii. 86. For an account of the rapid progreſs of the Jeſuits in Celebes, ſee Benard, ii. 60, 61.

[s] The vulgar, ſo long as their practices are not interfered with, are uſually very ready to ſubſcribe to the belief of abſtract and ſpeculative doctrines, however obſcure. (D'Alembert ſur la Deſtruction des Jeſuites, p. 48, 49.) The abſurdity of an opinion may prevent it from retaining a permanent influence in their minds, but ſeems to be

Converſions, however, ſuch as theſe were little to be deſired. Though they might multiply the congregations of the Jeſuits, they could not increaſe the joy of judicious Chriſtians [t]. If ſuch be the profeſſion of our faith eſtabliſhed among the natives of the Eaſt, it might be better that they had never known the ways of righteouſneſs. Our God is a jealous God, and will be adored alone [u]. They, who would ſo lightly take upon themſelves the name of Jeſus, would abandon it with the ſame facility. It was, indeed, often proved that they accelerated not the real progreſs of Chriſtianity, however their numbers might confer an apparent ſplendour on the reputation of their inſtructors. As they had never felt the conviction of truth, ſo they poſſeſſed not the fervour of enthuſiaſm. The inhabitants of Hindoſtan, in a preceding age, had perſevered, with almoſt unexampled conſtancy,

no bar to its immediate reception. The fury of the Bacchanals (Liv. l. xxxix. c. 8. et ſeqq.) or the Anabaptiſts probably increaſed rather than diminiſhed the number of their proſelytes. "The ordinary Chineſe," ſays Le Compte, "do not boggle at the myſteries."

[t] Norbert, i. 54.

[u] Exodus xxxiv. 14. Norbert, ii. 509, 510. See alſo 2 Cor. vi. 14—16. and Div. Leg. vol. iv. p. 176. ed. 1765.

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in their adherence to the worſhip of Brahmá, and, while they patiently ſubmitted to the ſword of Tamerlane, refuſed to acknowledge the creed of Mahomet. The converts of the Jeſuits among the ſame people ſhrank, with ſcarcely an exception, from the teſt of perſecution[x], a difference in conduct between natives of the ſame country, for which no individual diſtinction of character can be alleged, and which would not have exiſted, had the teachers of Chriſtianity inculcated the Chriſtian truth, had they ſtudied to promote, not the mere profeſſion of their faith, but the aſſent of the underſtanding, and the religion of the heart.

In the miſſions which were principally conducted by French eccleſiaſtics, it might be expected, and it will be found, that an honeſter ſyſtem was obſerved, than that which was followed by the natives of other countries more deeply ſunk in Papal ſuperſtitions. The privileges of the Gallican church contributed to maintain among its members an independance of ſpirit, and a liberty of judgment, which was exceeded in Proteſtant communities alone. Theſe privileges, though poſſeſſed,

[x] Benard, Diſc. Prelim. p. 34. Norbert, i. 73, 189.

conſtitutionally, only by the ſecular clergy, yet contributed to form, generally, a manlier tone of religious ſentiment, by which the regulars themſelves, from whom the miſſionaries were uſually ſupplied, were naturally influenced.

Even theſe miſſionaries, however, uſed methods of propagating Chriſtianity leſs objectionable, indeed, than thoſe which have been related, but ſtill too certainly liable to ſevere and juſt animadverſion. In faſting, and auſterities of the ſtricteſt kind, they avowedly contended for preeminence with the prieſts of idols[y]. They abſtained from meat purpoſely to conciliate the approbation of thoſe who were induced, by the peculiar tenets of their ſuperſtition, to obſerve a ſimilar abſtinence. In adopting this conduct they pretended to act on the authority of St. Paul[z], forgetful that what, with them, was a compliance with idolatrous opinions, was, with him, preciſely the reverſe. In the caſe of the Corinthians, the eating of meat ſacrificed to idols, not abſtinence from it, was the queſtionable conduct.

[y] Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſ. du Chriſt. i. 173, et ſeqq. ii. 190.

[z] 1 Cor. viii. Benard, i. 70. Hiſt. de l'Et. du Chriſt. i. 175.

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The abſtinence of the miſſionaries was dictated not by the fear of offending the weaker brethren, but by the hope of conciliating the prejudices of idolaters.

When Chriſtianity has been preached among heathen nations, it has been uſual for its teachers to meet with the requiſition, "Work miracles, and we will believe." This demand has given riſe to frequent miraculous pretenſions, and Xavier, in particular, is ſaid to have been endued with the full prerogative of an apoſtle; to have poſſeſſed the gift of tongues; to have caſt out devils; to have appeaſed tempeſts, and to have raiſed the dead [a].

The pretenſions of the French miſſionaries to Siam were leſs aſſuming. On certain occaſions, however, where miracles have been demanded, and promiſes held out of embracing Chriſtianity, on the exhibition of this ſenſible evidence of its truth, they profeſs to have offered ſucceſsful prayers for the interference of divine agency, or to have recited portions of the Scripture, as the means by which divine aſſiſtance might be expected [b].

[a] Turſellini vit. Xav. lib. ii. 7. iv. 3. vi. 1—4. Millar's Prop. of Chriſt. ii. 237. Hiſt. de l'Et. du Chriſt. i. p. 1.

[b] Ibid. p. 234, 239. This work, indeed, is full of miraculous interpoſitions. See alſo Le Compte, p. 363. It

Proteſtants, we cannot doubt, would have reſiſted the demand, would have anſwered, that miracles, though neceſſarily vouchſafed for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, had wiſely been withdrawn in later ages; that, where God has already given ſufficient evidence of the truth, man has no right to demand additional aſſurance either in kind, or in degree.

A reply of this nature was not, perhaps, to be expected from the members of a church which is ſtill unwilling to abandon its claim to the continued power of miracles. Yet, though this were a real inſtead of a pretended power, how different are the manner and circumſtances in which it was here exerciſed, from thoſe which characterize the miracles of the Goſpel! Theſe were never performed at the requiſition of unbelievers. Chriſt, though he appealed to the evidence of his miraculous works, refuſed to ſubmit their exerciſe to human preſcription. Though he aroſe from the dead, that he might ſatisfy reaſonable doubt, he deſcended not from the croſs either to

would be endleſs to enumerate the various pretenſions to miraculous power which have been made by the more bigotted Jeſuits. One of the moſt ridiculous ſtories of this kind is related of Anchieta in Brazil. Jouvenci, lib. xxiii. p. 766. cited Benard, liv. iii. §. 43.

humble

humble the pride, or ſilence the taunts of incredulity. The miracles of Chriſt and his apoſtles were given freely, not conditionally: and though beſtowed with a merciful condeſcenſion to human infirmity of belief, are to be conſidered not as the price of converſion, but as the reward of faith. This diſtinction between the manner and circumſtances in which the Goſpel miracles are ſaid to have been performed, and the manner and circumſtances attendant on the more recent pretenſions of the ſame kind, may indicate a difference in truth. It is a refinement, to which, though highly congruous to the dignity of the Supreme, it is not probable that enthuſiaſts, men uſually of confined intellect, ſhould uniformly have adhered. Impoſtors would have deſired no circumſtances but ſuch as might conduce to the ſucceſsful management of their fraud, and, where this was practicable, would have gloried in accepting the challenge of an adverſary [c].

Of this nature was the policy of the Romiſh emiſſaries as it reſpected the Pagan natives of the Eaſt. It is now to be conſidered in its application to very different objects. Among

[c] See Picart, Engl. Tr. vol. ii. p. 34. note.

the petty kingdoms which compoſed the ſouthern part of the peninſula of India, there had exiſted, certainly, from the beginning of the ſixth, and, probably, from that of the fourth century, a Chriſtian church conſiderable for its numbers, and profeſſing to hold the Patriarch of Babylon for its ſpiritual head [d]. Its members, an induſtrious, acute, and poliſhed people, poſſeſſed an allowed ſuperiority over the other natives of the country, who were deeply ſunk in ſuperſtition [e]. Their honeſty in commerce and their ſobriety of morals were free from all reproach [f]. Their religious creed appears in

[d] The ſtory of St. Thomas having viſited India ſeems to be completely fabulous. It has been ſaid that Chriſtianity was taught in Malabar by a diſciple of Manes. (La Croze, 41, 42.) At the council of Nice, held in the year 325, was preſent a biſhop της εν Περσιδι πασης και της μεγαλης Ινδιας: and Suidas cites an ancient author, who ſpeaks of the inhabitants of the interior of India being baptized in the reign of Conſtantine the Great. (Ibid. 44.) Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, who teſtifies unequivocally the exiſtence of Chriſtians in Malabar, wrote about the year 547. (Ibid. 38.) See La Croze, Chriſtianiſme des Indes, and Geddes's account of the Synod of Diamper. The archbiſhop of Malabar is ſaid to have had ſuffragans in the iſland of Socotora, and in China. Theſaurus Epiſtolicus La-crozianus, vol. ii. p. 15, 16, 20, 21.

[e] La Croze, 88, 89.

[f] Ibid. 94.

ſome

ſome reſpects to have been perplexed with verbal diſtinctions, and to have degenerated from apoſtolic purity of doctrine; but it is to be deemed comparatively pure, when contraſted with the Papal ſuperſtitions. They denied not only the ſupremacy of the Roman Pontiff, but alſo the excluſive principles on which it is founded. The celibacy of the prieſthood they did not recognize, the fables of purgatory and tranſubſtantiation they rejected, they condemned the uſe of images, and abhorred the tyranny of confeſſion [g].

Ignorant of the evils which eccleſiaſtical uſurpation had cauſed among the weſtern nations, they gladly hailed the European profeſſors of a common faith, to whom the progreſs of maritime diſcovery had opened the way to India. We may, indeed, conceive the exultation with which a ſecluded colony of Chriſtians, who, though they poſſeſſed a legal eſta-

[g] See La Croze, and the account of the Church of Malabar prefixed to Geddes's Hiſtory of the Synod of Diamper. The Malabrians had no eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, and the prieſthood did not exclude from ſecular employ. La Croze, 178. & 181. "Excluſive of the taint of Neſ-"torianiſm, there was no church previous to the Reforma-"tion that had ſo few errors in doctrine." Geddes, Preface.

bliſhment

bliſhment of their religion[h], yet lived under heathen princes, muſt view the worſhippers of the true God, arriving on their coaſts from a country ſcarcely known to them by name, through vaſt, perilous, and untried oceans. We may imagine alſo in the hearts of theſe intrepid ſtrangers a generous expanſion and pious joy at diſcovering the Chriſtian name and worſhip in theſe long ſought and diſtant regions[i].

Such natural feelings, if they exiſted, were ſoon extinguiſhed. The miſſionaries, to whoſe care, on the eſtabliſhment of the Portugueſe power, the propagation of the Papal faith in India was committed, beheld the native Chriſtians, unacquainted as they were with the claims, or unwilling to recognize the authority of the biſhop of Rome, not in the light of brethren, but of heretics. They ſpared neither craft nor violence to conciliate or enforce obedience to that uſurping pontiff. They ſeized, and ſent priſoners to Europe, biſhops who traced the line of their conſecration to the ancient

[h] La Croze, 95, 96.

[i] The Chriſtians of Malabar claimed the aſſiſtance of Vaſco de Gama in 1502: and they are ſaid, but I doubt the fact, to have offered themſelves as ſubjects to the king of Portugal. Geddes, p. 3. La Croze, 49, 50.

and

and independent metropolitans of Seleucia[k]. They began their preaching with aſſertions of the excluſive catholiciſm of Rome; they excommunicated the eſtabliſhed prieſts, and ſtudied to overcome the popular indignation conſequent on theſe enormities by the aſſiſtance of Heathen princes[l].

The crafty prelate, who bore the principal ſhare in the temporary reduction of the Malabrian to a conformity with the Romiſh

[k] Geddes, p. 12. La Croze, 58, 60, 62. A Jeſuit was made biſhop of the Serra. Geddes, 44. La Croze, 77. The native prieſts were permitted to continue the exerciſe of their functions, ſolely on condition of putting away their wives, and many were, accordingly, actually deprived of them. Menezes excommunicated two eccleſiaſtics who refuſed to comply with this injunction. Geddes, 308. La Croze, 285, 292, 295, 311.

[l] Geddes, 93. "Son hiſtorien (Giuſeppe di S. Maria) "avoue qu'il emploia utilement le pouvoir des rois Gen- "tils; en ſorte que par des priſons, des ſéqueſtrations de "biens, et par d'autres pareilles induſtries, il gagna "beaucoup d'ames, et remit des païs entiers dans le droit "chemin. Ce ſont les paroles de cet auteur." La Croze, 392, 323. "Ce fut donc une néceſſité d'avoir recours "aux armes pour la défenſe de la vérité opprimée. Elle "triompha enfin couverte d'une pourpre teinte du ſang de "ſes dévots." The ſame author cited, ibid. p. 403. The Jeſuits fomented diviſions alſo among the Chriſtians themſelves. Geddes, 20. Juſt obſervations on their conduct by a Mahometan chief. Ibid. 25. ſee alſo p. 28.

church,

church, reſolved to ſtrengthen his cauſe by the approbation of a dioceſan ſynod. This ſynod he convoked on the pretended authority of Clement the eighth, who then poſſeſſed the Papal dignity; and he ſecured a deciſion favourable to his views by conferring orders, a ſhort time previous to the aſſembly, on a great majority of the prieſts by whom it was compoſed[m]. This act was a violation not only of natural equity, but alſo of poſitive engagements; and the perſons thus ordained had previouſly conſented to an abjuration of their old religion, and had ſubſcribed the Popiſh creed. With this commanding influence over ſome, and with the power of intimidating others[n], Menezes prevailed upon the members of the ſynod to decree that the ancient books of their religion ſhould be deſtroyed; none being retained but ſuch as ſhould be corrected by the Jeſuits[o]. He appointed an alter-

[m] Geddes, p. 107. La Croze, 133, 172. A conduct preciſely ſimilar had been propoſed by Lainés while Vicar General of the Jeſuits, during the interregnum which ſucceeded the death of Loyola. Benard, i. 199.

[n] La Croze, 279.

[o] Synod of Diamper, by Geddes, p. 134. La Croze, 221. There is an Index Expurgatorius for the uſe of the Malabar Chriſtians in the fourteenth decree of the third ſeſſion. Geddes, p. 154.

ation

ation of the Syriac Scriptures to a conformity with the Vulgate Latin, and committed to the flames whatever monuments of heterodoxy he could collect from the archives of various churches, with a zeal which, if more enlightened, was certainly far leſs to be excuſed than that Mohammedan ſuperſtition which deſtroyed the Alexandrian library [p]. He impoſed on theſe unhappy regions the whole maſs of Popiſh idolatry and ſuperſtition, and implanted among them the inquiſitorial tribunal in all its horrors [q].

[p] La Croze, 295, 309, 310.

[q] La Croze, 247, 280, 359. Menezes in the beginning of his career ſeems to have maintained a correſpondence with the Inquiſitor General at Liſbon. Ibid. 72. Geddes, 39, 40. The holy office became afterwards more deſpotic and oppreſſive at Goa, than any where in Europe. Giuſeppe di S. Maria, on burning the palanquin of the heretical archdeacon of Malabar, ſeems to have lamented that he could not, at the ſame time, burn his body. La Croze, 409.

The oſtentation of the Romiſh prelates in India was no leſs remarkable than their tyranny. In a triumphal proceſſion at Angamalé Menezes ſeems to have attempted an imitation of our Saviour's entry into Jeruſalem. Ibid. 294. "Le Jeſuite Gouvea fait ici une réflexion en approuvant fort ces emportemens de Menezes. Il dit que parmi ces infidelles dans des affaires d'importance l'humilité et la modeſtie ne ſervent de rien, parceque ces vertus

It is certain that by ſuch conduct the eventual intereſts even of the Romiſh communion were very far from being conſulted. Though its tyranny was awhile ſupported by the ſame means by which it was introduced, by artifice in conciliating adherents, and by inflicting on its oppoſers confiſcation, impriſonment, and death, it continued only half a century, and the attempts which were made for its reeſtabliſhment were interrupted by the downfal of Portugueſe authority on the coaſts of Malabar [r].

"vertus leur ſont inconnues, et qu'ils n'eſtiment que "l'orgueil et la hauteur." La Croze, 154. "Cette often- "tation, qui a été maintenue par tous les prélats des "Indes, eſt d'elle-même néceſſaire parmi une nation bar- "bare, qui ne ſauroit ſe former aucune idée de Dieu, ſi "elle ne voit des pompes et des grandeurs." Giuſeppe di St. Maria. La Croze, 399.

[r] Natives of Malabar, though of the nobleſt families, who had been ordained at Rome, were rejected by their countrymen from the diſcharge of the clerical office. Geddes, 64. La Croze, 55. See alſo p. 80. Inferences of the eventual benefit which the Portugueſe might have derived from a leſs violent policy may be collected from La Croze, 351, 366, 367, 411.

They endeavoured on their expulſion to ſow the ſeeds of eccleſiaſtical diſſenſion in the dioceſe which they left. Ibid. 415. But though the Roman Catholic forms are ſtill retained by a majority of the Malabar churches, yet all

Had the pretenſions of the Roman church been leſs excluſive; had its pontiff been willing to admit the patriarch of Moſul, whoſe juriſdiction had been ſo long acknowledged by theſe Indian Chriſtians, to a participation only of his authority, it is probable that he might have obtained the recognition of his own ſupremacy. Had the different orders to which the work of converſion was intruſted remained faithful to the common cauſe, inſtead of quarrelling on individual intereſts[s], their concentrated efforts might have ſtill remained victorious. Had the doctrine, which was eſpouſed by miſſionary zeal, been truth, not fable, the genuine oracles of Chriſtianity, inſtead of the

all perſecution ſeems to have ceaſed ever ſince the expulſion of the Portugueſe. See Appendix XXV.

[s] Chriſtianiſme des Indes, Pref. p. xx. Norbert, i. 284, 294. The Jeſuits carried the Janſeniſt controverſy even into China. Lettre de M. de Cicé, p. 45. A heathen of eminence, it is ſaid, applied to a Capuchin miſſionary, and profeſſed a deſire of being baptized, provided that, after baptiſm, he ſhould belong to the communion of the Capuchins, and not to that of the Jeſuits. It ſeems that this requeſt could not be granted without the conſent of he biſhop of the dioceſe. It conſequently was referred to him, and by him to his fraternity, by whom it was negatived. Norbert, ii. 140. See ibid. 106, 108.

forged

forged and lying goſpels and lives of the Apoſtles [t], which tended to the eſtabliſhment not of Chriſtian, but of Papal faith: nay, had it been Popery itſelf, diveſted of its moſt glaring and offenſive errors, its teachers might have permanently enjoyed the aſcendancy of European genius. Theſe realms of India might have continued to be theirs, might have afforded to them not only a titular epiſcopacy, but alſo real power; and the Roman pontiff might have ſtill conſoled himſelf for the diminution of his authority in ancient Chriſtendom, by reflecting on the new empire which had ſubmitted to acknowledge his prerogative in Eaſtern regions [u]. But the ſhortſighted emiſſaries of the papacy looked not beyond the actual conjuncture, and ſought only for particular reſources. Their blindneſs alſo to the future diſqualified them in many inſtances from determining juſtly even for the preſent; and they, conſequently, experienced, like other diſingenuous politicians, that to linger, at critical periods, in the miſerable detail of tempo-

[t] See Appendix XXVI.

[u] Paolo Sarpi, Hiſtoire du Concile de Trent, livre vi. chap. 58. ed. Courayer.

rary

rary expedients, ſerves only to accelerate impending ruin [x].

Though the obſtacles thus ariſing from the inſincere and partial methods which have been adopted to promulgate the creed of Rome, both in Pagan and in Chriſtian India, have, hitherto, prevented its farther progreſs, it is pleaſing, however, to reflect that the church of Malabar is ſtill exiſtent, ignorant, perhaps, in compariſon of European Chriſtians, but unqueſtionably ſincere in its profeſſions, and unfettered in its independence. And though the extenſive plains of Hindoſtan are divided between the diſciples of Mahomet and of Brahmá, the time, aſſuredly, will come, when a brighter day ſhall riſe on thoſe diſtant regions, and when the purity with which the goſpel of our Redeemer will be preached upon the banks of Ganges, or in the ſtreets of Delhi, ſhall atone for the corruptions with which it has been long oppreſſed. I would that the immediate probability of ſucceſs were equal to that zealous fervour, with which, already, it is ſaid, the Proteſtant miſſionaries of

[x] See Appendix XXVII.

An account of the propagation of Chriſtianity in Abyſſinia by the Jeſuits may be found in Appendix XXVIII.

Denmark and of Britain have begun to ſcatter throughout India the genuine ſeeds of faith [y].

On the ſpecific duties of thoſe perſons by whom the governments of India are now adminiſtered, or of thoſe to whom the propagation of our religion throughout that vaſt and populous continent may be hereafter confided, it enters not into the deſign of theſe diſcourſes to enlarge. That future miſſionaries will purſue a conduct leſs exceptionable than that of their predeceſſors we certainly have juſt reaſon to expect. It is poſſible alſo that they may have equal zeal. Still, however, the difficulties which they muſt neceſſarily meet with are of ſo formidable a nature as to preclude thoſe ſanguine anticipations of ſucceſs, which we would wiſh to entertain, and may perhaps incline us to ſuſpect that the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt is ſtill, by the providence of God, retarded to a diſtant age [z].

[y] For accounts of the origin of the Proteſtant miſſions to India, ſee Niecampii Hiſtoria Miſſionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, 4to. Halæ, 1747. La Croze, Chriſtianiſme des Indes, p. 534, &c. Millar's Prop. of Chriſtianity, ii. 322.

[z] Theſe difficulties are ſuch as to have led Dr. Jortin to a notion, which it is rather extraordinary that ſo judicious a writer ſhould have entertained, that "the conver-"ſion and the reſtoration of the Jews, and the calling of "the

Men who commonly do not leave Europe till their memory and the organs of ſpeech become in ſome degree intractable by age or habit, cannot in general attain that familiarity with the uſages and dialects of foreign countries and climates, which is indiſpenſable to a religious inſtructor. In the preſent circumſtances alſo of India, all teachers of Chriſtianity muſt be regarded with a peculiar jealouſy, and thus neither be able to guard their doctrines from miſtake, nor their motives from ſuſpicion. It may be ſuppoſed, indeed, that this obſtacle may be removed, either in the whole or in part, by educating natives of Hindoſtan for the purpoſes of the Chriſtian miniſtry. And it is certain, that it is on natives rather than on Europeans that the eventual progreſs of our religion in that country muſt depend.

The capital difficulty, however, ſeems to be of a more important and formidable kind. There is nothing which demands not only ſo much delicacy and addreſs, but alſo ſo juſt

" the Gentiles, if ever it be accompliſhed, muſt in all pro-
" bability be performed by the viſible manifeſtation of
" God's power and ſpirit, and not by ordinary and hu-
" man means." Remarks, ii. 240. See Hey's Lectures, i. 337.

and liberal a knowledge of human nature, as interference in matters of religion. It is manifeſt, however, from paſt hiſtory, and I know not that the experience of preſent times tends in any degree to invalidate the obſervation, that thoſe perſons who devote themſelves to the miſſionary office, though often men of the moſt heroic diſintereſtedneſs, and ſometimes of an acute and active genius, yet are rarely poſſeſſed of an enlarged and comprehenſive intellect. In the immediate object which they are deſirous of attaining, an object, indeed, of the higheſt worth and greatneſs, they appear ſomewhat too excluſively to concentrate all the faculties of their minds; and, from want of an extended contemplation of human nature, to miſtake the means by which that very object may be beſt attained. Eager to multiply converſions, they ſeem naturally to fall into thoſe imprudences which attend an unenlightened ſpirit of proſelytiſm. In ſome caſes, as we have ſeen, they accommodate Chriſtianity to the idolatries of thoſe to whom they preach. In others they forget that the ſame cauſes, which make religion neceſſary to mankind, attach men to the religion in which they have been bred, and that every rude attack ſerves only to bind them

them to it more cloſely. Theſe errors ſeem not to imply any particular imputation of blame to individual miſſionaries, but naturally to reſult from the conſtitutional imperfection of mankind. Throughout India, and other unconverted countries, they probably will extend to all teachers of Chriſtianity, whether of native or European extraction. We rarely can find accuracy of judgment united with that warmth of character which is neceſſary to induce men to undertake the difficult and dangerous office of promulgating Chriſtianity to idolaters; however uſeful they may eſteem that office to be, however ſublime. Thoſe varied ſtudies which diſcipline and correct the mind leſſen the intenſity of its application to any one purſuit. To improve reaſon has a tendency to diminiſh zeal. I ſpeak only of what uſually is the tendency of ſuch improvement, without examining whether it is capable of being, or ought to be, counteracted.

Should theſe obſervations be admitted, they, probably, may lead us to infer that it is not ſo much to the exertions of miſſionaries that we muſt look for the future propagation of Chriſtianity, as to the general diſſemination of knowledge. The indiſcretions which it can ſcarcely, perhaps, be hoped that miſſionaries

will be able to avoid, impede the end which they propoſe: but when thoſe perſons to whom our religion is offered ſhall be enabled to determine for themſelves, concerning its records and evidences, they will learn to admit its truth on rational principles. When they ſhall add to the poſſeſſion of our Scriptures the ſagacity to underſtand their meaning, and the judgment to appreciate their value, they will believe the doctrines which are taught in them. This belief, we may expect, will naturally deſcend from the more intelligent to the comparatively ignorant. Sound learning and juſt argument will triumph over fanaticiſm or error; will firſt convince the reaſon of the wiſe, and, by this means, will, in due time, overcome the prejudices of the vulgar; and thus Chriſtianity will eventually be eſtabliſhed by a progreſs contrary, indeed, to that which it experienced at its origin, but probably not leſs aptly ſuited to the altered circumſtances of mankind.

If this, in truth, be likely to be the caſe, ſo extraordinary a revolution in the manner of propagating our religion deſerves a ſerious conſideration. It is an hiſtorical fact, entirely independent of the miraculous means by which it is ſaid to have been effected, that Chriſtianity

was

was introduced into the world by low and uneducated men, and that men of rank and learning were afterwards, by degrees, converted to it. This fact appears, manifeſtly, to be an inverſion in the ordinary progreſs of opinions, which are uſually communicated from the wiſe to the ignorant, inſtead of being adopted from the ignorant by the wiſe. It accordingly has been conſidered by Chriſtians as an important argument for the belief of a divine interference in the original eſtabliſhment of the church. And if it appears that things have now reverted to their natural order, even in the advancement of that very religion, in the foundation of which this order was interrupted; if it is to abilities and learning that we muſt now look for the extenſion and ſupport of a religion which was firſt propagated by a few unlettered fiſhermen of Galilee; we have the ſtronger reaſon to admire the peculiarity of its origin; and to conclude that none but God could ever have enabled "the fooliſh "things of the world to confound the wiſe, "and the weak things of the world to con-"found the things which are mighty."

SERMON VIII.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IT has been often juſtly remarked, that Chriſt not only forbore to aſſume any temporal greatneſs, but that he made no pretenſions to temporal authority. He expreſsly taught his diſciples that his kingdom was not of this world, and declared both by his words and actions that he recognized the juriſdiction of exiſting rulers. The apoſtles alſo were diligent to inſtruct their converts that the profeſſion of the true faith, and the adoption from the bondage of ſin, or of the Jewiſh law into the glorious liberty of the Goſpel, neither changed nor relaxed the duties of civil obligation. The future univerſality of the new religion was wiſely conſulted by this provident caution. The legiſlator

giſlator may have been thus diſpoſed to regard it without jealouſy, and the philoſopher to judge it with candour. It may now, I preſume, be ſafely aſſerted, with the illuſtrious champions of Proteſtant independence, that eccleſiaſtics, in attempting to ſet up a temporal prerogative independent of the ſtate, and much more, an influence, or an eſtabliſhment inconſiſtent with its ſecurity, exceed the bounds of their commiſſion.

But though numerous inſtances have been alleged in theſe lectures, of churchmen who have made their ſacred calling a cloak to their ambition, or who have conducted the fancied intereſts of their faith by the rules of worldly policy; though the contraſt between their conduct and the conduct of Jeſus, between their principles and the genuine principles of Chriſtianity has, I truſt, been carefully and accurately diſtinguiſhed, it has not at any time been denied that temporal offices may, without any violation of true religion, be confided to the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtics [a]. It is the artful progreſs from the adminiſtration of ſpiritual offices to the prerogative of worldly power, in which real Chriſtianity abhors to

[a] Fleury, q. Jortin's Remarks, iii. 273.

join;

join; the unhallowed ends, to which the moſt holy pretenſions have been too frequently directed. It has not been aſſerted, that the prieſthood ought juſtly to be ſecluded either from the exerciſe of private buſineſs, or the diſcharge of civil functions; but that true religion walks not in thoſe paths of queſtionable and indirect policy, into which buſineſs and ambition are too generally tempted to divert. It may have been inconvenient, it cannot juſtly be ſaid to have been profane, that the ſceptre of temporal dominion ſhould have been wielded by the Roman pontiff: the profaneneſs of Papal uſurpation conſiſted not in the mere exerciſe of territorial ſovereignty, but in the mode by which this ſovereignty was acquired, and the principles by which it was ſupported; in the perverſion of eccleſiaſtical authority to purpoſes inconſiſtent with the legitimate objects of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments; in applying the name of Chriſtianity to abuſes irreconcileable with its truth, and in reality hoſtile to its progreſs; which were not confined to the limits of the Papal territory, but extended throughout the Chriſtian world.

I am willing, indeed, unreſervedly to admit that temporal power, even when committed to

to the hands of eccleſiaſtics, may not always have been miſplaced. And were a ſtate to be again exhibited to mankind adminiſtered ſolely by the ſacerdotal order, though the eligibility of ſuch a conſtitution might be doubted, yet, unleſs truth ſeemed violated by more than common error, or liberty oppreſſed by unuſual tyranny, it might be contemplated without abhorrence.

The erection, therefore, of the Jeſuitical empire in Paraguay, the laſt and moſt ſplendid example of miſſionary zeal, which it is the object of theſe diſcourſes to examine, is not haſtily to be reprobated, without an inquiry into the principles on which it was founded. Though it is ſeen, on its very firſt appearance, to be inconſiſtent with the rules of the Inſtitute of the Jeſuits, by which the acquiſition of permanent eſtabliſhments, and the exerciſe of ſecular offices, are expreſsly prohibited[b]; yet this irregularity might have been overlooked, in conſideration of ſome not more ſingular than pleaſing circumſtances which are included in the hiſtory of their government,

[b] Echavarri, Hiſt. du Paraguay ſous les Jeſuites, vol. i. part i. chap. ii. p. 13. and Epit. Soc. Jeſu, there cited.

were

were not the attention forcibly recalled to a wary and diſtruſtful watchfulneſs by numerous examples of deſpotic and artful policy.

The ſimple manners which the Paraguayan neophytes are related to have poſſeſſed, their peaceful ſubmiſſion to the commands, their implicit veneration for the perſons of the miſſionaries, ſeem at firſt ſight to diſcloſe the moſt beautiful picture of a mild and docile people rewarding with filial gratitude the paternal care of their inſtructors. In no Utopia (could the abſence of liberty be forgiven) has a juſter or more equable tranquillity ever preſented itſelf to the dreams of a philoſophical imagination. No want, no ſuperfluity: all laboured with cheerfulneſs in common, and the produce of their labours became the property of the whole. By wiſe ſuperintendants it was again diſtributed with provident impartiality. All were ſupplied alike from public ſtorehouſes with clothing adapted to the climate. The ſick, the aged, and the infirm received always the moſt attentive ſuccour. The reformation alſo from a ferocious barbariſm [c], to the employments and arts of civilization; from the

[c] Charlevoix, Hiſtoire du Paraguay, vol. i. p. 11, 12. ii. 11. ed. Paris, 1757. 12mo.

diſtreſſes

diſtreſſes of the hunting ſtate, to the ſecurity of the agricultural; an adminiſtration of juſtice the moſt lenient and the moſt wiſe, and above all the general diffuſion of a moſt ſcrupulous reverence for religion, muſt be attributed in the miſſions of Paraguay to the zealous aſſiduity of the Jeſuits [d].

The religion, indeed, which they taught was violated by Papal ſuperſtition: but as this general error of the Romiſh miſſionaries has in other inſtances been already noticed, I ſhall decline, for the preſent, any farther animadverſions on it, and conſider deſpotiſm as the only vice, with which, in theſe regions of their greateſt ſucceſs, the Jeſuits are juſtly to be charged. That deſpotiſm alſo itſelf was exerciſed ſo tenderly, that here, if ever, the flattering character may have been realized, which

[d] Muratori, Relation of the Miſſions of Paraguay, Engl. Tr. 12mo. 1759. chapp. vii. & xvi. Davie's Letters from Paraguay, (8vo. 1805.) p. 221, &c. I cannot refer to this laſt mentioned publication without intimating my doubts (doubts, indeed, which no evidence in its favour could remove) reſpecting its authenticity. I queſtion not, however, but that the information which it affords, on thoſe points for which it is here cited, was procured either from Spaniſh documents to which I have had no acceſs, or from a perſon who had actually reſided in the country where it is pretended to have been written.

was,

was, of old, applied ſo undeſervedly to the mother of Tiberius: "The power of injuſtice "was poſſeſſed without the will to injure[e]." Theſe miſſionaries, in truth, ſeem to have regarded thoſe over whom they exerciſed an unlimited authority as being their ſubjects, not their ſlaves; to have coveted dominion, that they might confer benefit. Even now it is ſtill to be obſerved that, where their inſtitutions are in part continued, the native Indians, unlike that miſerable race oppreſſed in the adjoining provinces by the yoke of Spain, preſerve a manly and erect deportment, and wear countenances of animation and content[f].

Is deſpotiſm then, the mild deſpotiſm which was exerciſed in the miſſions of Paraguay by the Jeſuits, a ſufficient cauſe to deny them the praiſe of having taught there the genuine doctrines of Chriſtianity? It is at leaſt ſufficient to diſcriminate moſt widely the hiſtory of their conduct, and the evidence of their motives, from thoſe by which Chriſt is to be diſtinguiſhed: nor, in truth, are the evils even of

[e] "Nec nocuiſſe ulli, et fortunam habuiſſe nocendi." Albinov. ad Liviam.

[f] Davie's Letters, p. 215, &c.

the mildeſt deſpotiſm inconſiderable, either in themſelves, or in their effect upon religion.

Each of the miſſionary ſettlements in Paraguay, during the continuance of the Jeſuit authority, was ſuperintended by two fathers of that order, the one principal, the other aſſiſtant[g]. In theſe perſons was veſted the whole of the civil as well as of the ſpiritual power. Native officers were, indeed, elected by the Indians themſelves, to whom were aſſigned the titles, and in ſome degree the employments, of the inferior magiſtrates of Spain: but theſe elections were entirely under the control of the Jeſuits, nor could any meaſures of importance be adopted, nor any puniſhment inflicted, without their concurrence[h]. Even the military forces of the reſpective miſſions were regulated by their pleaſure, and commanded by officers of their appointment[i].

[g] Muratori, chap. xi. p. 99.

[h] Ulloa, vol. i. p. 544. ed. 4to. Amſt. 1752. Muratori, p. 126. Charlevoix, ii. 45.

[i] Benard, Diſc. Prelim. p. 92, 93, 95. See Charlevoix, ii. 35. The Jeſuits have defended their ſolicitude to put the military eſtabliſhments of the miſſions on a reſpectable footing, not only on the grounds of neceſſity and policy, but alſo on that of its being a religious duty. "C'eſt de plus une très-grande faute de faire ſi peu de "cas de ce que Dieu lui-même approuve, puiſqu'il "s'appelle

Thus uniting all the titles both of civil and religious veneration, adding to the fervour of their zeal a correſponding purity of manners, and claiming, as they might juſtly claim, the recompence of gratitude in return for the moſt ſolicitous affection, and the moſt pious care, they exerciſed an abſolute dominion over their proſelytes. No power that is founded merely upon force can equal the authority of a religious as well as civil ſuperior, whoſe ſubjects with voluntary humility are earneſt to confeſs their ſecret crimes, who intreat to expiate them by penance, and who proſtrate themſelves to kiſs the garments of the miſſionaries, and the hand which has inflicted chaſtiſement[k].

A deſpotiſm acquired by ſo many benefits, and exerciſed with ſo much gentleneſs, it might ſeem the part of a determined objector to reprobate, were not the means, which were employed for its attainment or preſervation, ſuch as muſt neceſſarily have been productive of the moſt ſerious evils. Of theſe the moſt conſiderable were the entire abolition of pro-

" s'appelle dans l'Ecriture ſainte ' Dominus Deus Exerci-
" tuum." Echavarri, i. p. 128.

[k] Benard, ubi ſup. 90. Muratori, p. 70, 71.

perty among the people, and the mental ignorance from which, by the moſt ſtudious policy, their emancipation was utterly precluded.

The huſbandman in Paraguay, it has already been obſerved, laboured not for himſelf[l]: the produce of the harveſt was depoſited in public granaries under the direction of the Jeſuits, whence every individual was ſupplied with neceſſary food at monthly intervals, or on particular emergencies[m]. The workmanſhip alſo of the manufacturer, and even the wages of his labour[n], were laid up in the general repoſitory[o]. The diſpoſal of the ſuperfluous produce was entruſted to the Jeſuits alone, and by them the natives were, in return, ſupplied with all the foreign products, whether of neceſſity or comfort, which they enjoyed. The indolent and improvident character and the bounded intellect of the Indians[p] rendered theſe arrangements, according to the Jeſuits, a matter of neceſſity, rather than of choice. If left to themſelves, it was aſſerted that, while

[l] See Appendix XXIX.

[m] Benard, Diſc. Prelim. p. 91. Muratori, p. 144. and extract from Father Florentine's voyage, ibid. 292.

[n] Davie's Letters, 248.

[o] Muratori, 145.

[p] Charlevoix, ii. 47. Muratori, 101, 141, 145, 196.

they

they rioted in preſent plenty, they would not ſpare the reſources of the future year [q]. But, as no accounts are to be credited by which any portion of mankind is condemned to a helpleſs incapacity, ſo it is confirmed by particular obſervation that no deficiency of underſtanding could juſtly be attributed to the natives of Paraguay [r]. In mechanical dexterity, in muſic, and in painting, they ſeem to have vied with European artiſts [s], while an enlarged or comprehenſive underſtanding can ſcarcely be expected to reſult, even where nature has been moſt liberal in her gifts, from a narrow and prejudiced education. In truth, this character of incapacity was a device of the Jeſuits alone, and intended by them as an apology for having aſſumed the entire adminiſtration of affairs, and direction of labour among the Indians. It has been ſuſpected that the commercial attractions of a lucrative monopoly were the real motive of theſe aſſumptions [t]; but it is probable that power ra-

[q] Muratori, ibid.
[r] Ibid. 133, 135.
[s] Charlevoix, ii. 48. Muratori, 87.
[t] Echavarri, i. 115, 126.

ther than riches was the object which they were intended to ſecure.

The extinction of property appears ſometimes to have been regarded with approbation by theoriſts of former ages, as tending to the maintenance of equal liberty in their viſionary republics. The experiment has never been ſo completely realized as in the miſſions to Paraguay; but the Jeſuits, by whom it was there inſtituted, ſeem to have foreſeen its real operation with greater ſagacity than the philoſophers of old: they perceived that it would terminate, not in liberty, but in deſpotiſm. Property, indeed, of all the inſtitutions by which the ends of ſocial union are to be promoted, is by far the moſt efficient. Honours can never be beſtowed on the maſs of the population in a ſtate. Their worth is founded upon diſtinction, and, as they become common, vaniſhes away. Property, on the contrary, is of real value in itſelf; it is capable of the moſt minute and varied ſubdiviſions, and may be rendered, under a wiſe and liberal legiſlation, the firmeſt bond of order and the moſt powerful motive to induſtry. Men, where there is no property, will either not labour beyond the abſolute neceſſity of ſuſte-

nance,

nance, or labour with indolence and conſtraint. It is the inſecurity of property which perpetuates, in the faireſt portion of Aſia, the oppreſſions of the Ottoman empire. It is the virtual negation of property that, in weſtern India, has given riſe to the taſkmaſter and the ſcourge. Wherever, in ſhort, the legiſlator abandons this ſalutary inſtitution, he abandons his moſt efficient and natural ally. Rejecting the cement of ſociety, he finds it neceſſary, perhaps, for the preſervation of the edifice, to draw tight the cords of ſervitude. Sometimes the preſſure of circumſtances, or defect of ſkill, may compel him to adopt this uncertain ſupport of diſunited and tottering materials; but the Jeſuits, it is to be feared, eſtabliſhed not the deſpotiſm of Paraguay as neceſſary to ſupply the abſence of property, but excluded the acquiſition of property, that they might enſure deſpotiſm [u].

[u] The extent of the deſpotiſm exerciſed by the Jeſuits in Paraguay was ſo great, that they conſidered the following as *bad* terms, on which they procured admiſſion into the country of the Chiquito Indians. "The firſt, "that who did not chuſe to become Chriſtian ſhould not "be obliged to leave the country: the ſecond, that chil-"dren, though their parents were Chriſtians, muſt not "ſerve at the altars. The miſſionary accepted theſe

The evils which have been thus enumerated as reſulting from the excluſion of property, if they may ſeem chiefly of a political nature, yet are not without their moral import. Political and moral evil are rarely unconnected with each other. Whatever degrades the independance of the character debaſes the purity of virtue. To the excluſion of property, alſo, evils the moſt indiſputably moral may be directly traced. Neceſſity and the deſire of improvement are the ſources of many virtues, of thoſe eſpecially, in which the principle of ſelf-intereſt predominates as the rule of action. Where excellence can neither alleviate misfortune, nor procure good, excellence will rarely be attained. The Indian, to whom, in common with his countrymen, the neceſſaries of exiſtence are diſtributed from the public ſtock; who, when the labour which is due to the community is diſcharged, poſſeſſes not the right of labouring for himſelf, has little opportunity of emulation, and no incentive to induſtry. Nor is the unnatural extinction of property leſs injurious to the ſympathetic and ſocial virtues. How can he be charitable who

" terms, though he foreſaw they might have bad conſe-
" quences." Muratori, p. 108, 109.

has

has nothing to give? How weak the tie of the domeſtic union, unleſs ſtrengthened by particular neceſſitudes, and peculiar intereſts! How impoſſible to exerciſe either filial or parental piety, where the ſon can have no dependence on the parent, nor the parent receive ſuccour from the ſon[x]!

The ignorance, in which the natives of Paraguay were ſtudiouſly kept, may ſeem capable of a more plauſible apology than their being precluded from the acquiſition of property. An intercourſe with the Spaniſh colonies, it was pretended, would only ſerve to lead the Indians into a contempt of the religion which they would there ſee openly profaned, or an imitation of the licentiouſneſs, which was there generally practiſed[y]. Nor is it to be diſſembled that European coloniſts, by their injuſtice, their cruelty, and diſſoluteneſs, have often raiſed moſt formidable impe-

[x] Raynal, liv. viii. ch. 17. vol. ii. p. 288.

[y] "Il faut couper court à tout cela, parceque ſi les "Indiens acquierent trop de lumieres ſur de pareilles "choſes, les Peres ne pourront plus s'aſſurer de leur façon "de penſer, ni les tenir dans la dépendance. Vos révé- "rences doivent être perſuadées, qu'à meſure que ces "Indiens feroient des progrès dans les connoiſſances, ce "ſeroit plutôt pour le mal que pour le bien." Ordonnances et Lettres cited, Echavarri, i. p. 227.

diments to the progreſs of that holy religion which they have profeſſed to teach [z]. The Indians, however, prohibited from the ſtudy of the language [a], and uſually from intercourſe with the natives of Spain [b], were prevented from attaining any knowledge but ſuch as they might derive from their miſſionaries. By theſe inſtructors they were taught to believe "that "all ſecular Europeans were men without "law, and without religion, who adored no "God but gold, and, being poſſeſſed by the "Devil, were enemies not only to the Indians, "but alſo to the holy images which they re-"vered; who, if they entered the territory of "the miſſions, would deſtroy the altars, and

[z] Muratori, p. 198.

[a] Charlevoix, ii. p. 45, 46. See alſo Rélation abrégée concernant la république que les religieux (nommés) Jeſuites des provinces de Portugal et d'Eſpagne ont établi dans les païs et domaines d'outre-mer de ces deux monarchies, &c. publiſhed with the ſanction of the courts of Spain and Portugal, p. 51. in the Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal, concernant la conduite des Jeſuites dans le Paraguai, &c. 3 tomes, Amſt. 1761. tome i.

[b] The partial intercourſe, which was permitted with the Spaniſh ſettlements, was ſo adjuſted as to confirm rather than ſhake the excluſive reverence for and confidence in the Jeſuits, which was entertained by the Indians. See Appendix XXX.

"put

" put the women and children to the ſword [c]." For themſelves, on the contrary, the Jeſuits claimed, not only the confidence which man may, perhaps, juſtly expect from man as the return for benefits conferred, or as due to a ſuperiority of knowledge; but alſo a veneration, which can with decency be offered to none but God, a blind obedience, utterly unſuitable to the condition of humanity, though here inculcated as the moſt eſſential principle of religion [d]. But religion, however favourable the prejudices thus inſtilled into the Indians may have been to its apparent progreſs, can never be, in reality, promoted by the artifices of deſpotiſm. True Chriſtianity, though it interferes not, by any direct method, with

[c] Rélation abrégée, p. 52, 53. I know not whence a better idea can be derived of the abhorrence for the Spaniards which was inculcated among the Indians, than from the following extract ſaid to be taken from an ordinance of Tamburini, General of the Jeſuits, to the Provincial of Paraguay. The eighth article of the ordinance, after reciting the puniſhment to be inflicted on ſorcerers, thus proceeds. " On finira par les chaſſer honteuſement " en les envoyant chez les Eſpagnols, pour avoir l'air de " ſévir plus rigoureuſement contre eux, et pour les couvrir " d'une plus grande ignominie." Ordonnances et Lettres. Echavarri, i. p. 97, 98.

[d] Rélation abrégée, p. 51, 52, 53.

civil

civil ordinances and ſubjection, is, in its influence, favourable to liberty. And reaſon, likewiſe, heſitates not to refuſe that partial good, which is purchaſed by the ſacrifice of all generoſity of ſentiment, of all the independent and noble faculties of the mind.

If the conduct of the Jeſuits in Paraguay towards the Indians was thus exceptionable both in the means employed, and in the end propoſed, it exhibited indications not leſs remarkable of an ambitious policy, as it reſpected the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of Spain. The earlier accounts of their eſtabliſhment diſcloſe almoſt uninterrupted ſcenes of contention with that government, which were often terminated by arms [e]. Such conteſt, perhaps, even without entering into a detail of the attendant circumſtances, might, in itſelf be a preſumption, particularly as it is illuſtrated by the hiſtory of their proceedings in Europe, that here alſo they entertained views of aggrandizement, which were dangerous to the ſafety of the ſtate. They had promiſed an unfeigned ſubmiſſion to the biſhops of thoſe

[e] Recueil des Dec. Apoſt. &c. tome i. Avertiſſ. pref. p. 14. Charlevoix, in initio in various places, and vol. iv. p. 17.

diſtricts

diſtricts in which their miſſions were ſituated; but the promiſe ſeems to have been equally inſincere with that memorable vow of obedience to the Pope, originally made by Loyola at the primary inſtitution of the order[f]. Here, as elſewhere, they regarded their own ſuperiors with an excluſive ſubmiſſion, nor would they tolerate the exerciſe of any alien ſupremacy, even whilſt they admitted its nominal exiſtence[g].

Nor were they more ſcrupulous in their reverence for the temporal juriſdiction of Spain. The prohibition throughout the miſſions of the Spaniſh language, which they had undertaken to teach; the ſuſpicious abhorrence of Europeans, which they ſtudiouſly promoted, proceeded, beyond doubt, in part, from the deſire of ſupporting their own excluſive deſpotiſm. On their own authority they adminiſtered both civil and criminal juſtice, and regulated their political relations with adjoin-

[f] Sermon V. pp. 118, 129.

[g] Voyage Hiſtorique de l'Amerique Méridionale, par Don G. Juan, et Don Antoine Ulloa, vol. i. p. 548. 4to. Amſt. 1752. This work is quoted by Charlevoix with approbation. Benard, Diſc. Prel. p. 93. Echavarri, i. 308.

ing

ing ſtates. They referred not to the will, they conſidered not the intereſts of Spain [h].

But the preſumptions of a factious conduct need not be long inſiſted on, where there are ſo many overt acts of rebellion. When the Indians of Paraguay, too confident in their numbers or their zeal, dared raſhly to oppoſe in arms the regular and combined armies of Spain and Portugal, the Jeſuits directed the revolt. They exaſperated their enthuſiaſtic ſubjects by language the moſt furious and the moſt inflammatory [i], and, if they did not perſonally lead the ranks of battle, they organized

[h] Echavarri, vol i. p. 81, &c. 92, 101, 102. "En effet, "ſi les Indiens ne ſont pas bien exercés à manier les "armes, ces doctrines ne pourront pas ſe défendre contre "les infideles, les Eſpagnols, et les Portugais." Lettre circulaire du P. Provincial Ignacio de Arteaga, 1727. Ibid. p. 128. The moſt numerous and by far the moſt active part of the Jeſuits of Paraguay is ſaid to have been compoſed of Europeans of mean birth. Natives of Spain, who, from national partiality, might be ſuppoſed unwilling to ſupport, unreſervedly, the Jeſuit intereſt againſt the Spaniſh, were rarely ſent into theſe provinces. Echavarri, vol. i. p. 164, 175, 176. Hoſpinian, Hiſt. Jeſ. p. 94. Tig. 1670.

[i] Copie des Inſtructions que les Jeſuites qui gouvernent les Indiens leur donnerent, &c. No. i. at the end of the Rélation Abrégée, p. 84, &c.

the

the councils, and guided the operations of the war [k].

Slight, in truth, was the impreſſion that could be made on regular armies by the untried militia of theſe Indian miſſions. Hoſtilities were indeed protracted to a third year, and a ſecond campaign, but by manœuvres rather of the cabinet, than of the field. Even then, though vanquiſhed beyond the hope of any future recovery by arms, the Jeſuits yielded not to deſpair. What force had failed to effect, intrigue ſeems ſucceſsfully to have accompliſhed. The hoſtile conqueſt, though deciſive and complete, was not purſued to any efficient purpoſe. The original object of the Spaniſh government, which had given occaſion to the war, was abandoned, and the Jeſuits of Paraguay continued for a time to exerciſe the ſame undiminiſhed deſpotiſm which they had long poſſeſſed; for a time, indeed, of no long duration, but, till after the European downfal of the order had preceded and preſaged their fate [l].

The moral demerit of the Jeſuits in thus

[k] Echavarri, vol. ii. p. 205, &c.

[l] An account of the war of the miſſions of Paraguay, and the final expulſion of the Jeſuits from that country, may be found in Appendix XXXI.

abetting

abetting a reſiſtance to the tyranny of Spain, I am far from having the remoteſt intention to exaggerate. Though their conduct was undoubtedly inconſiſtent with the inſtitute of their order, though it undoubtedly exceeded the legitimate province of eccleſiaſtics, it is capable of many palliations. Had the boldneſs of their enterpriſe been rewarded with ſucceſs, had a hero ſtarted from beneath the cowl to vindicate the liberties of mankind, I know not that we could have pauſed to condemn the irregularity of the prieſt, while we applauded the deliverer of his people. Still, however, though every thing be allowed which the moſt ſanguine advocate can demand, though the conduct of the Jeſuits in the war of Paraguay be admitted not only to be juſtifiable, but even to be diſintereſted; ſtill the queſtion is to be aſked, where is the *evidence* of their diſintereſtedneſs? Innumerable are the facts in hiſtory, innumerable are the theological poſitions, of which, though the truth be not denied, the evidence may juſtly be conteſted. The narrative of an hiſtorian is not falſe, becauſe it is doubtful. A patriot is not diſhoneſt, becauſe his conduct may ſeem referable to ambition. A teacher of religion is not neceſſarily corrupt, becauſe his efforts to

extend

extend the faith may plauſibly be derived from intereſted motives. If, however, theſe ſeveral characters be taxed by an objector with avarice, with ambition, and with falſehood, how is the objection to be refuted? The probabilities by which it may be weakened are in themſelves ſo doubtful, ſo liable to be exaggerated by attachment or diſregarded by jealouſy, as rarely to produce a full conviction in the mind of the moſt unprejudiced inquirer.

Chriſtianity is not builded up on ſuch unſtable foundations. Not only may it poſſibly or probably be true, but the hiſtory of its propagation is not to be explained on any hypotheſis of falſehood. Not only may the conduct of Chriſt be fairly defended from the charges of intereſt or ambition, but is utterly incompatible with either ſuppoſition.

To illuſtrate the truth of theſe remarks from the hiſtory of the miſſions to Paraguay, it muſt be obſerved that in comparing the evidence of the religion which was there promulgated with the evidence of the religion taught by Chriſt, no arguments are to be conſidered but ſuch as may be collected, in the one caſe, from the perſonal conduct and policy of Chriſt, in the other, from the perſonal conduct and policy of the Jeſuits. In the one inſtance

ſtance we confine ourſelves to the hiſtory of Chriſt without noticing his miracles; we muſt confine ourſelves in the other to the hiſtory of the Jeſuits, as if they had been the original authors of the religion which they taught, without any reference to the written documents of its truth.

For the preſent I wave all objections to the purity of the doctrines of the Jeſuits, and the rectitude of their intentions. Let their real be ſuppoſed uniformly to have been the ſame with their declared object; the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity: let it be granted that they aſſumed and exerciſed a deſpotic power, ſolely to facilitate the progreſs of the faith, and promote the happineſs and ſecurity of their people. The power thus aſſumed muſt be ſuppoſed alſo independent of external ſupport, and of external danger. It is to be examined on its inherent ſtrength or weakneſs, as the probable cauſes of its permanence or its fall. The original aſſiſtance, and the ſubſequent hoſtility of Spain is, for the moment, to be forgotten.

At firſt, then, it may naturally be ſuppoſed that the greatneſs of the benefit received would operate among the reclaimed barbarians who were inſtructed in religion, and diſciplined to order,

order, to the excluſion of all other feelings but thoſe of implicit gratitude and confidence. Such, in truth, ſeems to have been the fact, as ſuch had been the diſpoſition with which their Peruvian neighbours had before received, in circumſtances perhaps apparently ſimilar, the fabled children of the Sun. At length, however, when gratitude, that tranſitory affection, ſhould ſubſide, and confidence become mingled with diſtruſt, when the ſecurity, which had been ſo long unknown, ſhould awaken at length the ſenſe of rights which they did not yet poſſeſs, they who might queſtion the authority of the deſpot would ſcarcely fail to doubt the ſincerity of the prieſt. Obſerving that their religious doctrines had proceeded from the authors of their civil ſlavery, they would imagine them, however ſalutary, to have been framed and cemented by the ſame deſigning policy. The probability of this conſtruction is general, not particular; extends to all inſtitutions of religion, not to the peculiar forms of Chriſtianity alone. So alſo, had it been allotted by Providence to the kingdom of the Incas, to reach the period of natural decay, the oppoſers of their civil dominion would have denied their pretenſions as envoys of the divinity to mankind: or ſo at leaſt the incredulous Eu-

ropean would probably decide, taught by too uniform an experience to regard with jealouſy every pretenſion which is capable of being referred to intereſted motives.

How different are the preſumptions which may be collected from the original eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity! How unimpeachable the diſintereſtedneſs of its author! He connected not, he ſought not to connect any temporal eſtabliſhment with the doctrines which he taught. The pure garments with which he clothed his diſciples muſt be foully ſtained, ere they can hide the injuſtice either of eccleſiaſtical or civil deſpotiſm.

Whence, however, and to what purpoſe was this peculiarity of Chriſt? Why came he not, as the Jews expected him to come, arrayed in the pomp of triumph, and trampling on the necks of his enemies? Was it to extort from the unwilling ſceptic the praiſe of rigid diſintereſtedneſs? Was it to preclude the poſſible imputation of ſelfiſh and temporal ambition? Thoſe perſons who reject the evidence of Chriſtianity muſt undoubtedly anſwer in the affirmative. The meſſenger of truth may often carry with him the preſumptive evidences of veracity, without being conſcious of their nature or importance: they never

never can be exhibited by the meſſenger of falſehood but with deſign.

And here recurs, as I conceive, with irrefragable force, the argument of theſe diſcourſes. No wiſdom but the divine could have enabled the author of Chriſtianity to foreſee the imputations againſt which he appears thus clearly to have guarded the evidence of his religion. They could not have been collected from the experience of the paſt. Or, if human wiſdom alone be ſuppoſed equal to the diſcovery, why has this diſcovery been made by Chriſt alone? Why, for example, was it not made by thoſe penetrating eccleſiaſtics of Paraguay, who underſtood, probably, the methods of conciliating belief and confidence more thoroughly than any other politicians whom hiſtory can enable us to name: who thought, no doubt, that, by elevating the prerogative of their order, they ſhould increaſe, together with their own authority, the proſperity of religion, but who did not perceive that deſpotiſm, both civil and religious, carries with it in itſelf the latent germ of its deſtruction?

SERMON IX.

JOHN xviii. 36.

My kingdom is not of this world.

IN whatever reſpects the preceding diſcourſes may have been chargeable with defect, or error, I am willing to hope that the expoſition of the general argument may have been deemed ſufficiently accurate and perſpicuous. By that argument the truth of Chriſtianity has been inferred from the diſtinction between crafty and wiſe policy, between particular and general expediency. I apprehend, indeed, that all difficulties both of moral and political caſuiſtry are to be ſolved only by a proper adjuſtment of the balance, in which theſe differing, and frequently oppoſing, principles are to be weighed. It is the part of wiſdom and integrity to be guided by extenſive proſpects.

Craft and ſelfiſhneſs are directed by partial views.

It, accordingly, was ſhown that the genuine religion of Chriſt is of an enlarged and liberal character, wiſely ſuited not to the narrow intereſts of ambitious individuals, but to the nature and condition of mankind. It was aſſerted, and, I truſt, proved, that the means, which were originally employed for its propagation, are characterized by the ſame ſpirit, and ſuch as an enthuſiaſt or impoſtor not only would not have choſen, but could not have deviſed. This argument and poſition were illuſtrated by an inquiry into the circumſtances of the age in which Chriſtianity was firſt promulged; into the prejudices of both the Jewiſh and the Gentile world, and into the religious hiſtory of mankind. It was ſhown that other teachers of religion, and other pretenders to the name and office of Meſſiah, have propoſed to themſelves objects, and availed themſelves of means, which Chriſt refuſed to recogniſe or to adopt; but which it is preſumable that he would have graſped with eagerneſs, if he had not been enlightened by knowledge more than human. It was ſhown alſo, that, if any part of the policy of Chriſtianity ſeemed to have only a temporary reference

ference to the period of its eſtabliſhment, yet it did not militate againſt the general principle which was advanced; but rather, from its modified conformity to that principle, was calculated to confirm its truth.

The argument being thus completed and explained, I proceeded to compare the hiſtory of the origin of Chriſtianity with the hiſtory of thoſe early compliances with ſuperſtition, which were afterwards introduced into the church. I attempted to purſue the progreſs of theſe firſt corruptions of our religion, to their conſummation in the idolatries of Papal Rome, and then to examine the riſe of the Papal tyranny, and to ſhow the nature and magnitude of the evils which thoſe idolatries and that tyranny have produced. It was my next endeavour faithfully to delineate the more important features by which the ſociety of the Jeſuits was diſtinguiſhed, to trace the eſtabliſhment of its power, to expoſe the profligacy of its moral diſcipline, and to exhibit the bright contraſt which is apparent in the character of Chriſt.

But that part of the hiſtory of the Jeſuit order, which connected itſelf moſt naturally with the argument before unfolded, ſeemed to

conſiſt in the methods which were reſorted to by its miſſionaries for the propagation of Chriſtianity in foreign countries. The policy was examined by which their eſtabliſhments in Japan, in China, in Hindoſtan, and in the ſouthern continent of America, were diſtinguiſhed. They were ſhown, in ſome caſes, to have permitted accommodations to exiſting ſuperſtition and idolatry, which, however conducive to preſent, were inimical to permanent ſucceſs. In other inſtances, the conduct of theſe zealous eccleſiaſtics was ſeen either to warrant the ſuppoſition, or to admit the probable imputation of having been dictated by intereſt or ambition: while the conduct of Chriſt, on the contrary, both in reſpect of its wiſdom, and its diſintereſtedneſs, was every way and evidently unexceptionable.

The uſual purpoſe, for which the notice of the philoſopher or the divine has been attracted to the corruptions of Chriſtianity, has been to argue the falſity of thoſe pretenſions, by which eccleſiaſtics, whoſe doctrines, or whoſe motives appeared to be altogether different from thoſe of Chriſt, yet claimed the ſanction of his authority. It is the converſe of that argument which has been here maintained; a pro-

a propoſition leſs directly conſequent on the premiſes, but ſtill not feebly ſupported by them, and certainly not leſs important in itſelf: that both the nature of the wiſdom, and the evidence of the motives, by which Chriſt was guided, are ſo manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from human policy and paſſions, as to afford a fair and unanſwerable preſumption that he was himſelf enlightened from above. Why, if he was a mere man, uncommiſſioned by the divinity, why did he not purſue the ſame conduct which others have purſued in ſimilar circumſtances? Where did he find that unexceptionable wiſdom which others could not find either in the nature of things, or in an experience more extenſive than his own?

It may be aſked, however, whether I intend to aſſert, without exception, that the nature of the wiſdom, by which any diſpenſation is characterized, affords a ſure criterion of its authority: that, while the policy of God is uniformly framed on general principles, the policy of man is always limited and partial. Were I to anſwer in the affirmative, the paſt experience of mankind would juſtify the aſſertion, would warrant me to declare that the counſels of God are thoſe only in which unimpeach-

impeachable wiſdom can be recognized [a]. In him alone can we find or expect perfection. But if we ſpeak of that comparative wiſdom which man is capable of attaining, the argument of theſe diſcourſes does not oblige us either unreſervedly to condemn the paſt, or to augur unfavourably of the future. We may admit that the gifts which have been confided to human adminiſtration have not always been uſed unworthily. Some profeſſors of religion have taught the way of God in truth, and have imitated the example of the Redeemer with laudable though imperfect fidelity. And they have been rewarded with an abundant harveſt. They have ſown the good ſeed, which has taken root in a fertile ſoil, and ſprung up, and bloſſomed, and brought forth fruit, ſome thirty, ſome ſixty, and ſome a hundred fold. The proſperous iſſue of their labours confirms that natural analogy by which the original ſucceſs of Chriſtianity has been referred to the purity of thoſe means which were originally employed in its propagation.

[a] Των υκ εϛ' απεινευθε Διος δομος, ουδε τις ἑδρη,
Ουδ' ὁδος, ὁππη μη κεινοις Θεος ἡγεμονευει.

Heſiod. Theog. 386.

And

And even could we hope that mankind, taught at length by the uniform miſcarriage which has every where attended fraudulent and temporary expedients, may at length embrace, more generally than heretofore, the maxims of conſiſtent and real policy, the argument which is here derived from the nature of the wiſdom diſplayed by Chriſt would in no reſpect be diminiſhed in importance. The wiſdom of Chriſt has been proved to be free from thoſe errors into which the beſt and wiſeſt of mankind have fallen, into which he himſelf would, alſo, neceſſarily have fallen, had he been but a mere man. If it was more than human, it muſt have been divine, and to whatever extent we may ſuppoſe that human wiſdom may poſſibly be hereafter improved, yet, when the circumſtances attendant on the origin of Chriſtianity, the opinions of the age in which it appeared, and the example of preceding lawgivers are taken into conſideration, the accumulated preſumptions in its favour will continue to be ſtill the ſame. They cannot be leſs illuſtrious becauſe the conduct, from which they are ſeen to ariſe, may be imitated hereafter. Their contraſt with falſehood cannot be rendered leſs ſtriking by any future prevalence of truth. Nor, indeed, is it likely

to

to be held, even by the moſt ſanguine advocate for the progreſſive amelioration of the human race, that man will ever equal that complete excellence of unexceptionable wiſdom, which we contend to have been poſſeſſed by Chriſt.

In many of the examples of indirect and miſtaken policy which have been adduced, its final miſcarriage has been expreſsly noticed: but in the obſervations which were made on the hiſtory of the Papacy, and that of the Jeſuits, it will be recollected, that I attempted rather to explain the nature and operation of the principles exemplified in their aggrandizement, than to ſhow the ultimate diſappointment produced by thoſe principles, as manifeſted in the hiſtory of their decline. It was the chief object of the detail into which I thought it neceſſary to enter, not ſo much to ſtate the conſequences of an inſincere and crafty policy, as to expoſe its nature, and its conduct. The fact of its diſappointment may be ſimply and briefly expreſſed; while the nature of the means by which it is characterized ſeemed to demand a more particular illuſtration. I have reſerved it, therefore, for this concluſion of my diſcourſes, to ſhow the different reſults of craft, and of wiſdom, by comparing

comparing the decline of the Papal and Jeſuitical power with the continued ſecurity and real progreſs of Chriſtianity. That policy is crafty and erroneous, which is induced by preſent emergency to ſacrifice the neceſſary reſources of the future: that policy is analogous to the divine, by which, while the indirect and narrow artifices are abjured, which are too commonly practiſed among men, that eventual ſucceſs is obtained, which correſponds with the wiſdom of God, and muſt always follow from his will.

The memorable blow, which deprived the Papal juriſdiction of the greateſt portion of its influence, was ſtruck at the era of the Reformation. It had been preparing long before. Comparatively dark as thoſe ages may juſtly be entitled, which intervened between the reign of Theodoſius, and the revival of letters in Europe, we ſhould yet form very exaggerated notions of the religious fanaticiſm by which they were diſtinguiſhed, were we to ſuppoſe that they acquieſced, univerſally, and without reſiſtance, in the tyranny of the church. In the moſt gloomy night of ignorance, temporal princes ſeem naturally to have oppoſed themſelves with ſufficient zeal, though not, in general, with much conſiſtency or pru-

dence,

dence, to repreſs the ambition of eccleſiaſtics. So ſoon did the unjuſt pretenſions and aſpiring policy of the Popes give occaſion to that juſt reſiſtance which gradually increaſed till it deſtroyed the vitals of their power. So rapid are the ſteps by which craft advances to its deſtruction.

In the ages ſubſequent to the reformation, a real diminution has enſued in the authority of the Romiſh ſee, not leſs important than the apparent reduction of its power which was accompliſhed at that glorious period. Happily for mankind, the countries which continue their adherence to popery have ſhared in the general increaſe of civilization and ſcience. They have approximated, in a greater or a leſs degree, to that intellectual vigour, which to every nation is ſo much more valuable than the forms even of the happieſt conſtitution. Wherever there is an enlightened public, the practical evils of civil deſpotiſm are little to be feared: much more is the bitterneſs of eccleſiaſtical tyranny ſubdued, even though it may preſerve its nominal prerogative. Accordingly, the bigotry of the church of Rome has been eſſentially diminiſhed; its perſecutions, perhaps, have ceaſed; and its influence, during the laſt three centuries, on the various

govern-

governments of Europe, has, in general, been far inferior to that which thoſe governments have poſſeſſed in the councils of Rome itſelf. We, indeed, in our times, may be ſaid to have witneſſed rather the deſtruction than the diminution of the Papal empire, who have ſeen the remnant of its authority inſulted, and its chief reduced to a ſtate of utter dependance by that powerful conqueror, who rules the continent of Europe without a rival[b].

The deſtruction of the Jeſuits was prepared, alſo, by that progreſs of knowledge which has had ſo important an effect on the tyranny of the Popes. Had the governors of the order poſſeſſed the ſame ſpirit of moderation, for

[b] The actual attacks and inſults, which the late and preſent Popes have experienced, are far from being unexampled in the hiſtory of the Papal power. But though that power has, on many occaſions, recovered its greatneſs, after ſhocks not leſs rude than thoſe which it has recently undergone, it is to be recollected that the princes who, in former ages, waged war againſt, or offered any other violence to the holy See, profeſſed, at the ſame time, the moſt unbounded veneration for it. They attempted not to ſubvert the foundations of its prerogative, which were deeply laid in opinion. At preſent, however, we can hardly ſuppoſe that there exiſt any reſources in opinion, from which a reſtoration of the vigour of the Papal authority can ever be again expected.

which

which the Papal cabinet has been of late remarkable, its overthrow might have been leſs rude, or reſerved, perhaps, to amplify the long ſeries of revolutions, by which the eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil hiſtory of Europe has recently been diſtinguiſhed. But, in the confidence which was inſpired by the memory of their paſt triumphs, they ſeem at once to have forgotten that accommodating policy by which they had arrived at greatneſs; blind to the changes in opinion, which liberty or philoſophy had introduced, and the incongruity of eccleſiaſtical arrogance with the prevailing ſentiments of the age [c].

[c] An eccleſiaſtic of this order declared at Liſbon from the pulpit, in the middle of the eighteenth century, that "whoever entered into the Grand Para Company ſhould "never enter into that of Chriſt." Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. i. 128. Soon after the Jeſuits attacked a rival eſtabliſhment in Portugal, which had engaged in the culture of vines in the province of Haut Douro; and aſſerted, "Que les vins qui ſeroient vendus par la com-"pagnie ne vaudroient rien pour la célébration du S. Sa-"crifice de la Meſſe." Ibid. 132. "It ſeems," ſays D'Alembert, "that, at the period of their deſtruction, "the Jeſuits and their friends were ſeized with a ſort of "vertigo, and precipitated their own ruin; and that "then, for the firſt time, they ſhowed an inflexibility, "where it was moſt their intereſt to concede." Sur la Deſt. des Jeſ. p. 157.

Portugal,

Portugal, once the ſcene of their moſt abſolute dominion, was the ſtate which ſet the firſt example of the expulſion of the Jeſuits from its territory. It ſpared not, alſo, with the uſual inveteracy of feeble-minded revenge, to mix calumny with juſt accuſation. The Jeſuits, in their obſervations on this unmanly policy, are equally reprehenſible; and if, in ſome inſtances, they may be deemed to have repelled the charges of their enemies, they attempt, in others, either the indirect or open juſtification of the moſt dangerous principles, and the moſt fanatic zealots of their ſect [d].

Their conduct in France was diſtinguiſhed by acts of ſtill more extraordinary temerity. Proud of their victory over the Janſeniſts, a victory the more flattering, becauſe it had ſo long been doubtful, they determined to complete the diſcomfiture of that expiring ſect by refuſing the laſt offices of the church to its adherents [e]. But the victim, which they were

[d] See Appendix XXXII.

[e] The moſt important controverſies in which the Jeſuits were engaged in France were, firſt, their conteſt with Arnauld and the Port Royal, and, afterwards, that with the Janſeniſts. A good account of the firſt is given in the Hiſtoire de Port Royal, which is attributed to

deſirous to cruſh, retained a ſtrength, which they were far from having ſuſpected, and preſſed them vigorouſly in return. Then, indeed, the Jeſuits ſeem to have recollected the policy of their better days; and as they had before eſcaped from the perplexity to which the queſtion of the Chineſe ceremonies had reduced them, by reviving the obſcurer controverſies of a former age; ſo now they attempted to elude the reviving energy of their ancient adverſaries, by an attack on the partizans of infidelity[f]. They may have remembered, alſo, that on a former occaſion, though refuted in diſputation, condemned by the Pope, and ſtigmatized by almoſt all the univerſities of Europe, they had ſo conducted themſelves as to derive even from defeat the very rewards of

Racine, and of both in Marmontel's Régence du Duc d'Orléans, vol. ii. p. 175, &c. ed. Lond. 1805. The diſputes reſpecting the bull Unigenitus were purpoſely raiſed by the Jeſuits, in order to withdraw the public attention from the queſtion of the Chineſe ceremonies, on which they felt themſelves reduced to great difficulties. This ſcheme ſucceeded for a time, but the violence with which it was proſecuted ſeems, at length, to have contributed to the deſtruction of the order. Marmontel, Ibid. p. 217, 218. D'Alembert, Eſſai ſur la Deſtruction des Jeſ. p. 81, &c. 87, 97, &c.

[f] D'Alembert, 106.

victory.

victory. With an artifice which has invited imitation, inſtead of confeſſing themſelves to be baffled, they aſſumed the port of conquerors. They proclaimed a triumph by public rejoicings, illuminations, and theatrical entertainments, while thoſe who ſmiled at their arrogance were dazzled and confounded by its ſucceſs [g].

The circumſtances, however, of the times were varied. That tide of opinion was rapidly retiring, of which the flow had led them to greatneſs; and though daring confidence, when poſſeſſed of an aſcendancy over the imagination, will often, of itſelf, create ſucceſs, yet, when diveſted of that powerful ſupport, it only accelerates misfortune. The Jeſuits now added to their enemies a party formidable by its extenſive influence, while, far from being doubly cautious to preſerve their remaining popularity, they ventured to dare the public indignation by new imprudences [h]. They had embarked in lucrative and extenſive commerce, but refuſed to acquit the debts to which their agent, himſelf a Jeſuit, was en-

[g] Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 277.
[h] D'Alembert, 110, &c.

gaged on their behalf[1]. They conteſted, at a public trial, the legality of the obligation by which they were bound, and attempted to evade an equitable ſentence, by proving that all Jeſuits were prohibited by the articles of their conſtitutions from engaging in commercial affairs. This vain and injudicious, and, I may add, this inſolent defence was the immediate occaſion of their downfal. The volume of their inſtitute, to which they appealed, attracted, for the firſt time, the judicial obſervation of the magiſtrate. The principles of that ſyſtem have, on a former occaſion, been explained, and it ſcarcely can be neceſſary to add, that no magiſtrate, to whoſe cognizance they might be ſubmitted, could conſent to tolerate them. The Jeſuits were ſuppreſſed in France ſoon after they had been expelled from Portugal, and it was not long before the example of France was followed by the connected government of Spain.

I am as far from deſiring to juſtify the ſeverities with which the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits was attended, as from wiſhing to include in

[1] An account of this tranſaction is inſerted in Appendix XXXIII.

the

the guilt which I have imputed to the order all the individuals of whom it was compoſed. But the jealous enmity of magiſtrates and ſtates would ſcarcely have been ſo generally directed againſt them, if it had not, in part at leaſt, been provoked by real vice or error. It confirms, therefore, inſtead of weakening the concluſion that their policy had prepared their fall.

In that fall, when it at length arrived, their moſt unrelenting enemy might have ſatiated the deſire of vengeance. If, as has been ſuppoſed, it be the property of hatred to extend itſelf from the offender himſelf to all with whom he may be connected, hatred might have been fully gratified by ſeeing the innocent confounded with the guilty, the young and the old, the healthy and the infirm involved in a promiſcuous ruin. The majority, no doubt, of individual Jeſuits had contributed rather to augment the numbers than to ſhare in the councils of the ſociety. But they were all driven from their homes to ſuffer alike the common miſery of outcaſts, wandering on the ſeas without protection, repulſed from almoſt every port, and obtaining even from Rome itſelf mere vain commiſeration, and ineffectual relief. They were not the leaſt unfortunate

who were exiled from the civilized ſtates of ſouthern Europe among the barbarous kingdoms of the North. Others, if leſs miſerable, were more degraded, to whom that infidel ſovereign, ſo unjuſtly dignified with the title of the philoſophic monarch, gave permiſſion to continue in his ſtates. He never would have compaſſionated their misfortunes, had he not deſpiſed their power [k].

Such has been the ultimate miſcarriage of thoſe corrupted ſyſtems, which, though they have borne the name, have violated the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. It is evident, alſo, that the ſame cauſes which, ultimately, prove fatal to the corrupted ſyſtems of our religion, muſt contribute in a proportionate degree to check the progreſs of the religion itſelf. The expoſure, therefore, of thoſe corruptions accounts in the moſt ſatisfactory manner for the limited re-

[k] "Ce n'eſt qu'en faveur de l'inſtruction de la jeuneſſe, "que je les ai conſervés. Le pape leur a coupé la queue; "ils ne peuvent plus ſervir, comme les renards de Sam-"ſon, pour embraſer les moiſſons des Philiſtins." Lettre du Roi de Pruſſe à M. de Voltaire, Dec. 10, 1773. See alſo the letters of the ſame monarch to M. D'Alembert, dated Jan. 7, March 11, May 15, and July 28, 1774.

Some farther details reſpecting the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits may be found in Appendix XXXIV.

ception

ception which Chriſtianity has yet obtained: while its not having been overwhelmed by means of the profane abuſes with which it has been loaded may be conſidered as an argument of its truth. If, however, inſtead of being overwhelmed, its progreſs has advanced, and is now advancing: if, as in the genuine records of our faith we can diſcover that wiſe adaptation to the circumſtances of mankind, which appears likely to promote its eventual prevalence; ſo, in the hiſtory of its propagation, we find, in fact, that its ſucceſs has already anſwered, in part, and promiſes, in future, to realize ſtill more completely ſuch natural expectations: the argument of theſe diſcourſes, which from the wiſdom of our religion would infer its truth, receives every way the moſt powerful confirmation.

The greateſt and moſt extraordinary progreſs of Chriſtianity is viſible in its firſt eſtabliſhment, when it was oppoſed by all the powers, and contradicted by all the prejudices of the world. In defiance of theſe obſtacles, it was extended, during the age of the Apoſtles, from Paleſtine to Rome, throughout countries enlightened by all the learning of a philoſophical age, and under the inſpection of a more prompt and deciſive government than

had before exiſted. In later times the real knowledge, as well as the nominal profeſſion of our faith has been often ſtationary, and, perhaps, ſometimes retrograde: but as the cauſes of theſe interruptions to its progreſs may eaſily be collected from the hiſtory of eccleſiaſtical abuſes, ſo the nature even of that reſtricted ſucceſs which it has obtained is not without its ſingular and characteriſtic qualities.

All human inſtitutions have uſually been ſuppoſed liable to the neceſſary viciſſitudes of birth, maturity, and decay; a conſummation not ſo much reſulting from the order of nature, as from the lamentable fact, that human wiſdom has been almoſt always limited by incorrect and partial conceptions. Chriſtianity, however, not having been propagated by the help of temporary expedients, contains not in itſelf the principle of deſtruction. The ſplendour of its ancient triumphs may be again renewed, when thoſe abuſes ſhall diſappear by which its natural influence has been ſo long and ſo powerfully oppoſed.

And in one reſpect, at leaſt, in that of which we are beſt able to appreciate the reality and value, the recent progreſs of Chriſtianity has been ſwift and certain. For, whatever may be the extent to which it is now profeſſed,

ſeſſed, we cannot heſitate to aſſert, that, at no preceding period, has the critical knowledge of its import been ſo widely or ſo accurately diffuſed, as in the preſent age. The ſoundneſs of biblical interpretation, and of the arguments propoſed in defence of our religion, has gradually increaſed from the era of the revival of letters to the preſent time. Among many even of the moſt eminent theologians of former periods a wild and fanciful method of argumentation ſeems frequently to have prevailed, which now has no place, unleſs in the fanaticiſm of the vulgar. Doctrines were then promulgated, and evidence adduced, of which men, whom we deſervedly eſteem bigotted and ignorant, would now juſtly be aſhamed. The ſimplicity of the Chriſtian doctrines has been vindicated from ſuperſtition: the zealots of prejudice are diminiſhed in number; and if freedom of diſcuſſion may be ſuppoſed, on one hand, to have multiplied the ranks of infidelity; on the other hand, we may aſſert a far greater increaſe of thoſe who believe upon rational and ſincere conviction.

If ſuch be the circumſtances of our religion, we ought, undoubtedly, to conſider it as attended with the moſt ſignal ſucceſs; with ſuch ſucceſs, as always muſt be the principal

cipal object of a wiſe contriver, looking rather to general than to particular conſequences. The hopes of deluſion are uniformly reſted on popular ignorance and ſuperſtition. The deluſion ceaſes when it is expoſed to the animadverſion and effect of cool and critical inquiry. It is then diſſipated by either an immediate or gradual deſtruction. Such is the policy, and ſuch the end of craft. It is the policy of wiſdom, on the other hand, firſt to ſecure a real and a ſure foundation; to avert not only the dangers which may impend from without, but alſo thoſe cauſes of unſeen decay, which may deſtroy more fatally from within. This is the example ſet before us by the author of Chriſtianity, who, in the firſt eſtabliſhment of his church, built it upon a rock. No imputation of falſehood, and none of error, is conſiſtent with the circumſtances of its origin. And in this origin we alſo ſee the promiſe and the means of its future greatneſs. We ſee that holy church, unſhaken by the erection or the fall of thoſe frail and tottering ſtructures which alien hands have attempted to rear beſide it, advance in increaſing magnitude under the effect of the ſame wiſdom by which it was eſtabliſhed at the beginning. We ſee that as the corner-ſtone was laid in truth, ſo in truth

alone

alone will its walls and towers be elevated. The ſuperſtructure will be firm, becauſe the foundations are ſolid.

Such are the proſpects which ſeem naturally to ariſe on proſecuting the argument of theſe diſcourſes. And with pointing out ſuch gratifying proſpects, the contemplation of which it is ſo reaſonable, as well as ſo congenial to the beſt and moſt benignant ſympathies of the heart for us to indulge, theſe diſcourſes might be concluded. But let me once again recur to the argument itſelf, an argument founded not in the hopes of the future, and the expectation of things which "though un-" ſeen, we yet believe," but in paſt and poſitive experience.

Unbelievers object to the evidence of miracles. They ſuppoſe that Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed by human means. I have argued with them on their own ground. I have aſſumed no principles, I have appealed to no facts, which, to my knowledge, they deny. I have endeavoured, however, to prove that thoſe very means, to which they themſelves muſt attribute the ſucceſs of our religion, were of a nature ſo unexceptionable; that the wiſdom which was diſplayed by its author, and which even they who diſbelieve his miracles cannot

but

but admit that he poſſeſſed, was ſo perfect in the whole, and ſo complete in all its parts; as to conſtitute a deciſive evidence of his divine illumination. But divine truth is inſeparable from divine wiſdom. Since Chriſt, then, was enlightened from on high, the religion which he taught is true.

That I have endeavoured to draw this concluſion without appealing to the evidence of miracles, will be deemed, I hope, a uſeful effort. No one, I truſt, can ſuſpect, from my having been ſilent on that evidence, that I mean, in any degree, to queſtion its admiſſibility, or to depreciate its preeminent importance. On the contrary, I am perſuaded that the truth of our religion may be more naturally and directly proved from miracles, than in any other manner, and that the objections of a late celebrated writer to their credibility may juſtly be conſidered as unworthy of thoſe great talents, and that philoſophical ſpirit of inveſtigation, which he poſſeſſed.

To thoſe perſons, however, who attribute to the objections here alluded to a greater weight than we poſſibly can admit them to poſſeſs, an argument to which they are totally incapable of being applied may, probably, be offered with advantage. Should theſe perſons be

be convinced by ſuch an argument, it neceſſarily muſt remove their ſcruples concerning the immediate proofs of miracles.

To the Chriſtian, alſo, himſelf it is eſſential that the ſeparate arguments for the truth of our religion ſhould be ſeparately examined. We have a maſs of various evidence, the parts of which unite with and ſtrengthen one another. We have different principles concurring in the ſame reſult. The mode, however, by which the proper action and harmonious cooperation of theſe principles may be diſcovered, is by treating of them by themſelves reſpectively; by diſtinguiſhing the external proofs from the internal, the proof of the miracles from that of the wiſdom of Chriſt. Otherwiſe, we muſt at leaſt reaſon without preciſion, or are led, perhaps, into that moſt mortifying of all errors, the error of arguing in a circle. And though one kind of proof may be more obvious or more eſſential than the reſt, yet, when the truth of Chriſtianity is the queſtion at iſſue, there exiſts a momentous intereſt in all. All, likewiſe, conſpire together. The greateſt confers ſtrength upon the leaſt, the leaſt reflects luſtre on the greateſt. It is but a part of the evidence of Chriſtianity which has been here examined: but no part

of

of that evidence can be inconſiderable, or unworthy of expreſs diſcuſſion; for on the ſtrength of the evidence depends the value of the religion, a religion which propoſes the happineſs of mankind for its object, and claims God himſelf for its author.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

ΠΡΟΣΠΟΙΗΘΗΝΑΙ δε αυτῳ τον Ἑρμην δεδωκεναι τȣτȣς (τȣς νομȣς) ὡς μεγαλων αγαθων αιτιȣς εσομενȣς· καθαπερ παρ' Ελλησι ποιησαι φασι, εν μεν τῃ Κρητῃ Μινωα, παρα δε τοις Λακεδαιμονιοις Λυκȣργον· τον μεν παρα Διος, τον δε παρ' Απολλωνος φησαντα τȣτȣς ειληφεναι· και παρ' ἑτεροις δε πλειοσιν ἐθνεσι παραδεδοται τȣτο το γενος της επινοιας ὑπαρξαι, και πολλων αγαθων αιτιον γενεσθαι τοις πεισθεισι· παρα μεν γαρ τοις Αριμασποις Ζαθραυςην ἱςορȣσι τον αγαθον δαιμονα προσποιησασθαι τȣς νομȣς αυτῳ διδοναι, παρα δε τοις ονομαζομενοις Γεταις Ζαμολξιν ὡσαυτως την κοινην Ἑςιαν, παρα δε τοις Ιȣδαιοις Μωσην τον Ιαω επικαλȣμενον θεον, ειτε θαυμαςην και θειαν ὁλως εννοιαν ειναι κριναντας την μελλȣσαν ωφελησειν ανθρωπων πληθος, ειτε και προς ὑπεροχην και δυναμιν των εὑρειν λεγομενων τȣς νομȣς αποβλεψαντα τον οχλον μαλλον ὑπακȣσεσθαι διαλαβοντας. Diod. Sic. i. p. 84. ed. Rhodomann.

Οὑτω δε μετεωρον και τετραχυμενον δημον ȣ μικρας, ȣδε φαυλης οιομενος ειναι πραγματειας μεταχειρισασθαι και μετακοσμησαι προς ειρηνην, επηγαγετο την απο των θεων βοηθειαν, τα μεν πολλα θυσιαις και πομπαις και χορειαις, ἁς αυτος ωργιασε και κατεςησεν, ἁμα σεμνοτητι διαγωγην επιχαριν και φιλανθρωπον ἡδονην εχȣσαις δημαγωγων και τιθασσευων το θυ-

μοειδες και φιλοπολεμον. Εσι δ' ότε και φοβες τινας απαγγελλων παρα τε Θεε, και φασμαλα δαιμονων αλλοκοτα, και φωνας εκ ευμενεις, εδελε και ταπεινην εποιει την διανοιαν αυλων ύπο δεισιδαιμονιας. Plutarchi Numa p. 255. ed. Reiſke. See alſo Ibid. Lycurg. p. 167. 227. Middleton's Tracts, 166, 167. Warburton, Div. Leg. Works, vol. i. p. 141.

II.

"For all the parts of their publick worſhip were performed before theſe publick ſacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houſes; not that they worſhipped the fire, (for this they always diſowned,) but God in the fire. For Zoroaſtres, among other his impoſtures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be inſtructed in thoſe doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as Mahomet after did) there to have ſeen God, but only to have heard him ſpeaking to him out of the midſt of a great and moſt bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the trueſt Shecinah of the divine preſence: that the ſun being the perfecteſt fire, God had there the throne of his glory, and the reſidence of his divine preſence, in a more excellent manner than any where elſe, and next that, in the elementary fire with us: and for this reaſon he ordered them ſtill to direct all their worſhip to God, firſt towards the ſun, (which they called Mithra,) and next towards their ſacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt; and their ordinary way of worſhip was to do ſo toward both." Prideaux's Connection, vol. i. p. 170, 171. ed. fol. 1717.

(Zeratuſht)

(Zeratuſht) "Who reformed the old religion by he addition of genii, or angels, preſiding over months nd days; of new ceremonies in the veneration ſhown o fire, of a new work which he pretended to have eceived from heaven, and, above all, by eſtabliſhing he actual adoration of one Supreme Being.

The reformed religion of Perſia continued in force, till that country was ſubdued by the Muſſelmans; and without ſtudying the Zend, we have ample information concerning it in the modern Perſian writings of ſeveral who profeſſed it. Bahman [a] always named Zeratuſht with reverence: but he was in truth a pure Theiſt, and ſtrongly diſclaimed any adoration of the fire, or other elements: he denied that the doctrine of two coëval principles, ſupremely good and ſupremely bad, formed any part of his faith: and he often repeated with emphaſis the verſes of Firdauſi on the proſtration of Cyrus and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think not that they were adorers of fire: for that element was only an exalted object, on the luſtre of which they fixed their eyes: they humbled themſelves a whole week before God: and if thy underſtanding be ever ſo little exerted, thou muſt acknowledge thy dependance on the being ſupremely pure." Sir W. Jones's 6th Anniverſary Diſc. Works, I. p. 89, 90.

III.

The opinions of Cicero on this ſubject were probably derived from Plato. The foundation of Plato's reaſoning conſiſts in the expediency of deceit in cer-

[a] Perſian reader to Sir William Jones.

tain caſes, for the purpoſes of government. Συχνῳ τῳ ψευδει και τῃ απατῃ κινδυνευει ἡμιν δεησειν χρησθαι τοις αρχοντας επ' ωφελειᾳ των αρχομενων. De Rep. lib. v. p. 459. ed. Serrani. See alſo lib. ii. p. 382. iii. 413. De Leg. ii. 663. and Moſheim de turbata per recentiores Platonicos eccleſia, cap. 43. The ſame maxim, in common with the reſt of the political philoſophy of Plato, is adopted in the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus, i. §. 24. p. 417. ed. Potter.

For additional obſervations on the fact that religion was conſidered by the heathen lawgivers, and philoſophers, as a civil ordinance, ſee Gibbon, chap. xvi. p. 621. 625, 626. 4to ed. and Warburton, Div. Leg. book ii. §. 6. Works, vol. i. p. 435. 439. and note II. Θεους τιμαν, και Ἡρωας εγχωριους εν κοινῳ, ἑπομενως νομοις πατριοις, ἰδιᾳ κατα δυναμιν συν εὐφημιᾳ, και απαρχαις καρπων, και πελανοις επἐιοις. Draconis lex, citante Porphyrio. Ibid. Works, i. 146. "Quæ omnia ſapiens ſervabit, tamquam legibus juſſa, non tamquam diis grata. . . . . Omnem iſtam ignobilem Deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa ſuperſtitio congeſſit, ſic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere." Seneca ap. Auguſtinum De Civ. Dei, vi. 10.

If, as perhaps is the caſe, Chriſtianity be the only religion, between the eſtabliſhed teachers of which numerous and inveterate diſſenſions have exiſted, this fact is a ſtrong preſumption for the ſincerity of their belief. The harmony which ſubſiſted between the prieſts of heatheniſm may ſuggeſt a very different concluſion.

IV.

A hiſtory of Sabatai Sevi extracted from Kidder's Meſſias, and apparently the ſame with that related in the Impoſteurs Inſignes, is detailed by Jortin, Remarks, vol. ii. p. 190. &c. ed. Edin. 1805. Voltaire alſo, in ſome part of his writings, has inſerted a long account of him, to which I am unable at preſent to refer. Sabatai was of a ſtudious character, and rigorouſly obſerved the law of Moſes. He elected an apoſtle for each tribe, and his coadjutor Nathan Benjamin pretended to be Elias. (Impoſt. Inſ. 504, 506, 510.) Even after he was thrown into priſon, he met with a brother impoſtor, who contended that there ought to be two Meſſiahs, the one ſuffering, the other triumphant. This man claimed the ſuffering department for himſelf. But even ſo they could not agree. (Ibid. 531.) Sabatai, after having apoſtatized, "preached at Conſtantinople, and drew over many Jews to profeſs Mohammediſm. At laſt he was committed to priſon for the reſt of his days, and died A. D. 1679. La Croix ſaw him, and heard him preach." (Jortin, 199, 200.) The Eaſtern Jews, even thirty-ſix or thirty-ſeven years after his death, ſtill continued to believe that he was alive, and that he would ſhortly appear triumphant. Theſe viſionary expectations were kept up by another impoſtor of the name of Daniel Iſrael. See the concluſion to Baſnage, book vii. chap. 34. p. 757. being an extract from a letter written from Smyrna by a Mr. Cuper in 1707.

V.

Ea omnia ex ingenti iſta ſtatutorum multitudine, quorum ratio nobis eſt occulta, nullum alium in finem data ſunt, quam ut nos ab idololatria elongarent. Particularia quædam quod attinet, quorum cauſæ nobis ſunt abſconditæ, et mihi utilitas illorum ignota, id inde provenit, quod res auditæ non ita ſe habeant, ſicuti res oculis viſæ et perceptæ. . . . . Quod ſi vero circumſtantialiter omnia et ſingula ipſorum opera ſciremus et audiremus, ſine dubio melius quoque nobis conſtarent rationes et modi ſapientiæ in particularibus actibus oblationum, pollutionum, et aliorum, quorum rationem jam ignoro. . . . . Ideoque maxima pars præceptorum (ſicuti declaravimus) non alio reſpiciunt, quam ut pravas iſtas opiniones tollant, maximumque illum laborem, moleſtiam et defatigationem, quam homines illi in Deorum ſuorum cultibus habebant, mitigaret: omnia item præcepta tam negativa, quam affirmativa, quorum ratio nobis eſt occulta, nihil aliud ſunt, quam remedia et medicinæ morborum quorundam illius temporis, quæ ad noſtram ſcientiam (Deo ſit laus) non pervenerunt. Maimonides, More Nevochim, pars iii. p. 507. 508. Buxtorfii. Baſileæ. 4to. 1629.

I cannot refuſe to ſubjoin the following extract from Dr. Woodward's Diſcourſe, on the Wiſdom of the ancient Egyptians, inſerted in the fourth volume of the Archæologia.

"Whatever might be the bent and diſpoſitions of the Iſraelites, it was Moſes's proper buſineſs to rectify them. He was not to indulge them in their fancies, but inform them of their duties, and direct them

them to what was fit, reaſonable, and conſiſtent with good morals and piety; though that happened to be never ſo much againſt their guſts and inclinations, which accordingly he every where did: and there are numerous inſtances of it through all his government of them. His doing otherwiſe might, indeed, have ſhown a great deal of *policy*, but not near ſo much probity and goodneſs, as are diſcoverable through his whole conduct of this great people. I can very eaſily allow Dr. Spencer that this was the method that Mahomet, Apollonius Tyanæus, and ſome politicians have taken; nor will I enter into any conteſt with him, whether the Devil makes uſe of the ſame in order to ſeduce mankind from the worſhip of God: all which he gives, I think, ſurely with a little too much looſeneſs, as parallel inſtances in confirmation of his notion: but this I am mighty ſure, Moſes was on all occaſions very far from it." pp. 281, 282.

M. Saurin alſo, (Diſc. Hiſtoriques,) if we may judge from the extracts in Le Clerc, (Biblioth. A. et M. p. 290, &c.) ſeems to have reviewed the ſyſtem of Spencer with great judgment So far, indeed, as the religion of Moſes can be traced to any pre-exiſting ſyſtem, it may plauſibly be referred to thoſe traditions of the patriarchal age, which the Jews probably retained more accurately than any other nation, even throughout the whole continuance of their Egyptian bondage. It would be highly unfair, in reviewing the inſtitutions of Moſes, to confine our attention to the multiplicity of the rites which he enacted, omitting to contemplate the purity of his theological doctrines.

Αρχέλαι τοινυν (ὁ Μωσης) απο Θεε κατα τα πατρια της

των προγονων Ἑβραιων θεολογιας· ουχι φιλον Αιγυπτιοις και Φοινιξιν ην, η τοις λοιποις εθνεσιν εις πληθος καταβαλλουσι την σεβασμιον προσηγοριαν, Θεους τε ὁρωμενους μεν τους κατ' ουρανον φωστηρας νομιζουσιν, αφανεις δε και αορατους, τους εξ ανθρωπων κατοιχομενους, η και τους χθονιους και αεριους δαιμονας, κατα τα προσθεν ἡμιν απελελεγμενα. Αλλα γαρ απο του παντων αιτιου, αορατων τε και ὁρατων δημιουργου την καταρχην του παντος λογου πεποιημενος, νομοθετην τουτον ειναι διδασκει της του παντος συστασεως, ὡσπερ μιας τινος μεγαλοπολεως του κοσμου βασιλεα καταστησας. παιδευει τοιγαρουν αρχομενος, τουτον ἡγεισθαι μη μονον των προς αυτους μικρον ὑστερον διαταχθησομενων ανθρωποις νομων αυθεντην ειναι και Κυριον, αλλα και των εν τη φυσει των ὁλων. Βασιλεα γαρ αυτον και νομοθετην του συμπαντος κοσμου περιστα. Euſeb. Præp. Ev. 313, 314. ed. Valeſii.

VI.

It is obvious that the validity of the argument intended to be drawn from theſe obſervations is not at all affected by the ſubſequent corruptions of Judaiſm. The pontifical artifices and ambition of the Levites after the reſtoration might be adduced, indeed, in confirmation of the argument of theſe lectures, and to illuſtrate the different policy which is conſpicuous in genuine and in corrupted ſyſtems of religion. See Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 16, &c.

I had intended to have added in this part of the diſcourſe ſome obſervations on the Hiſtory of Naaman. I hope that I may be excuſed by the acknowledged difficulty of the ſubject. Yet I cannot but expreſs my conviction, that when the brevity is conſidered with which the converſation between Naaman and Eliſha is recounted, together with all the

the circumſtances of the relation, a candid inquirer cannot refuſe to concur in the opinion of Werenſels: that, "omnes qui incurvationem Naamanis viderunt ex omnibus circumſtantiis facile dijudicare potuerint, omnia non in honorem idoli fieri, ſed ad debitum Regi ſervitium præſtandum." Diſſ. de Naamane Syro, cap. 21. Opuſc. vol. i. Lugd. 1772. See alſo cap. 22. and Lettres de quelques Juifs à Voltaire, vol. i. part. ii. Lettre VII. §. 2. p. 304. The opinion, however, of Bochart, which ſeems to be approved in note (1) p. 307, is ſcarcely defenſible.

Concerning the brazen ſerpent which in early times was objected to as ſuperſtitious, ſee the Preface to Peters on Job, p. 62, &c. 8vo. For obſervations alſo on this ſubject, and others of a ſimilar kind, ſee Lettres de quelques Juifs, vol. i. part. ii. Lettre IV. §. 7. and Lettre V. §. 2. &c.

VII.

"Multa nomina antiquæ ſuperſtitionis, multi ritus et cæremoniæ retentæ, ſed pia adhibita interpretatione omnia in melius verſa, planeque, ut alicubi ait Beda, *pertinaci paganiſmo mutatione ſubventum eſt, quum rei in votum ſublatio potius irritaſſet.*" I. Caſaubon. in Baronium Exercitat. 16. cap. 43. p. 545. ed. Lond. 1614. fol. "Hinc igitur eſt quod ſacramenta Patres appellarunt myſteria, μυησεις, τελέτας, τελειωσεις, εποπτειας ſive εποψειας, τελεςηρια, item τελεςικα aut τελειωτικα μυςηρια, τελειωτικας θεωσεις, ἱεραρχικας τελέτας, interdum vero orgia ſed rarius. Id. p. 550. Dionyſius (Areop.) cap. 5, univerſam των τελετων την ἱερουργιαν diſtinguit in tres actiones quæ et ritibus et temporibus erant diviſæ.

viſæ. Prima eſt καθαρσις, altera μυησις, tertia τελειωσις, quam et εποψιαν ſæpe nominat." Ibid. p. 551.

The Pagan myſteries were nocturnal. So, very frequently, was the celebration of the Chriſtian rites; but this probably may have been a conſequence of perſecution. " Formulæ illi in myſteriis peragendis uſurpatæ, ' Procul eſte profani,' reſpondet in Liturgia hæc per diaconos pronuntiari ſolita, ὁσοι κατηχημενοι προελθετε, vel εξω περιπατειτε ὁσοι επεργαμενοι, ὁσοι αμυητοι." p. 555. " Ita univerſam doctrinam Chriſtiani veteres diſtinguebant in τα εκφορα et τα απορρητα. Baſilius de Sp. S. cap. 27. doctrinæ Chriſtianæ duas partes facit, τα κηρυγματα και τα δογματα· τα δογματα, inquit, σιωπαται· τα τε κηρυγματα δημοσιευεται." I. Caſ. ubi ſupra, 555, 556. " Μηδε εκφορα τοις εξω τα πολλα των ἡμετερων μυστηριων ειναι." Greg. Naz. cit. ibid. " εσιν και παρ' ἡμιν κατ' επικρυψιν λογοι τινες· ους αρνησομαι." Idem. ibid. p. 559. " Ισασιν οἱ μεμυημενοι." Chryſoſtom. ibid. 556. " Quod ſi quædam non paſſim omnibus communicentur, non magis eo nomine reprehendi jure Chriſtianos poſſe a paganis, quam ſuos ipſi philoſophos reprehendant diſciplinam ſuam dividere ſolitos in εξωτερικα και εσωτερικα." Origen. ibid. 559. See alſo Tertullian de Corona Militis, cap. 3. and Confeſſional, 2d ed. p. 334.

VIII.

See Euſebius on the Worſhip of Martyrs, quoted in Jortin's Remarks, ii. 9. and Jortin, ibid. 11, 12.

The following extracts alſo, from writers cited by Beauſobre, Hiſt. de Manicheiſme, vol. ii. book ix. cap. 3, and 4. will ſhow the early and ſtudied ſimilarity

rity which exiſted between Pagan idolatry and the ceremonies obſerved in honour of Chriſtian ſaints. "Sacrificia vero eorum vertiſtis in Agapas, idola in martyres, quos votis ſimilibus colitis: defunctorum umbras vino placatis et dapibus: ſolennes gentium dies cum ipſis celebratis, ut calendas, et ſolſtitia: de vita certe mutaſtis nihil. Eſtis ſane ſchiſma a matrice ſua diverſum nihil habens niſi conventum." Fauſtus apud Auguſtinum cited p. 632.

"Ενθα, (at the burial place of Polycarp) ὡς δυνατὸν, ἡμιν συναγομενοις, εν αγαλλιασει και χαρᾳ παρεξει ὁ κυριος επιτελειν την τε μαρτυριᾳ αυτε ἡμεραν γενεθλιον." Euſebius, ibid. 642.

"Ipſa et Senatus lumina
Quondam Luperci et Flamines
Apoſtolorum et Martyrum
Exoſculantur limina." Prudentius.

See alſo Fortunatus, Jerom, and Paulinus, cited to the ſame purport, pp. 660, 661, 662. The ſimilar practices of Heatheniſm are obvious.

Sulpicius Severus ſeems to have been the firſt Chriſtian who introduced the uſe of images into the weſtern empire. He cauſed them to be ſet in a conſecrated place adjoining to the church, where they were exhibited not to receive honour, but for the purpoſe of encouraging imitation. We are informed by Gregory of Nyſſa, that in his time pictures expreſſing the labours of martyrs were ſuſpended in churches. Such pictures only as related to ſcriptural ſubjects had been before admitted into them. Ibid. p. 637.

The following paſſage is cited by Moſheim, vol. i. p. 100. from the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus.

"Cum

"Cum animadvertiſſet quod ob corporeas delectationes et voluptates ſimplex et imperitum vulgus in ſimulacrorum cultûs errore permaneret, permiſit eis, ut in memoriam et recordationem ſanctorum martyrum ſeſe oblectarent, et in lætitiam effunderentur, quod ſucceſſu temporis aliquando futurum eſſet, ut ſua ſponte ad honeſtiorem et accuratiorem vitæ rationem tranſirent." See alſo Tertullian de Oratione, cap. 12. and De Idololatria, 15. "Τυς γαρ οικειυς νεκρυς ανίεσειξε τοις ὑμετερυις θεοις, και τυς μεν φρυδυς απεφανε, τυίοις δε τα εκεινων ανίενειμε γερα." Theodoret. ap. Beauſobre, p. 673. And the ſame writer, ſpeaking of Socrates, declares, "Αλλ ὁμως της των Μαζύρων τιμης ε τετυχηκεν. Ουίε γαρ σηκον εκεινῳ εκ εδειμαντο, ειίε τεμενος ανεφιερωσαν, ειίε πανηγυρεις απεκληρωσαν οἱ των εκεινε λογων μετειληκοίες. Ibid.

A multitude of other authorities render the judgment of Beauſobre unimpeachable. "Nous ne hazarderons rien, quand nous dirons que preſque toutes les cérémonies, qui compoſoient l'adoration Payenne, commencerent dès le tems de St. Auguſtin de ſe pratiquer dans le culte des ſaints." Ibid p. 658.

"If the Chriſtians aboliſhed the colleges of the augurs, and the method of inquiring into futurity by the flight of birds, and the entrails of victims, they yet invented the art of judicial aſtrology in its place." Monteſquieu, De la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Décadence, chap. 21. See Moſheim i. 191. 206. and Gibbon, chap. 49. vol. v. p. 89, &c. 4to.

The ceremonies attending the feaſt of the Purification on the ſecond day of February were borrowed alſo from thoſe heathen rites which were practiſed in Rome at the ſame period of the year. (Moſheim i. 466.)

466.) It has been aſſerted, and is particularly curious, if it be true, that the mode in which this feaſt is celebrated (namely, with a great profuſion of burning tapers, whence ariſes its name of Candlemas) is derived from a heathen feſtival on the ſame day, in honour of Proſerpine, whom the Roman matrons, in alluſion to the known fable, pretended to ſeek by torch-light. The teſtimony of Romiſh writers upon the ſubject is expreſs.

" Quid eſt autem quod in hoc feſto cæreos portamus accenſos?——Gentiles enim Februarium menſem inferis dedicaverunt, eo quod, ſicut putabant, ſed errabant, in principio ejus menſis Proſerpina rapta fuerat a Plutone: quam quia mater ejus Ceres facibus accenſis in Æthna tota nocte per Siciliam quæſiſſe credebatur, et ipſi ad commemorationem ipſius facibus accenſis in principio menſis urbem de nocte luſtrabant. Unde feſtum iſtud appellabatur Amburbale. Cum autem ſancti patres conſuetudinem iſtam non poſſent penitus extirpare, conſtituerunt, ut in honore beatæ Virginis Mariæ cæreos portarent accenſos. Et ſic quod prius fiebat ad honorem Cereris, modo fit ad honorem virginis. Et quod prius fiebat ad honorem Proſerpinæ, modo fit ad laudem Mariæ." D. Innocentii III. Papæ in feſto Purif. Mariæ, Sermo I. p. 109. Opp. Coloniæ, 1575.

" Romani olim in hoc menſe tria feſta luminaria celebrabant. Primum in honorem Proſerpinæ. Secundum in honorem Februæ. Tertium in honorem totius curiæ infernalis. Siquidem ſecundum eorum fabulas Proſerpinam ſpecioſam puellam flores colligentem Pluto Deus infernalis concupiſcens rapuit, et accipiens in ſponſam, Deam fecit. Mulieres ergo

ergo *Romanæ*[a] tota nocte eam cum luminaribus quærentes, reſponſum acceperunt, quod Pluto eam rapuit, et in ſponſam accepit. Singulis igitur annis mulieres Romanæ in kalendis Febr. lumina deferebant tota nocte in memoriam Proſerpinæ raptæ, et in Deam tranſlatæ. Secundo, in honorem fecerunt Februæ, &c." Jacobus de Voragine De Purif. B. Mariæ Virginis, Sermo V. ed. 4to. Moguntiæ 1616. p. 105.

Both the authors here cited were of the thirteenth century, and, it may be preſumed, would not have confeſſed the fact which they relate, had they been prepared to deny it. I wiſh, however, that, though the one was a Pope, and the other an Archbiſhop, they had condeſcended to ſay on what grounds they aſſert this celebration of a feaſt of Proſerpine in ancient Rome, during the month of February. Hoſpinian, Prieſtley, and the author of the Hiſtory of Religious Ceremonies, who mention the ſame ſtory, have not ſupplied any additional authority from writers "melioris ævi." (Hoſp. de Origine Feſtorum Chriſtianorum. f. 33. p. 2. Tig. 1593. Corruptions of Chriſtianity, i. 377, 378. Birm. 1782. Picart. i. p. 376. Engl. Tr.) The rites practiſed during the month of February at Rome were, in general, of an expiatory character. Does this circumſtance ſupport the above relation?

IX.

See Eraſmus Coll. Naufragium, and Peregrinatio Religionis ergo. I have ſomewhere ſeen the following quotation from Lactantius, (l. ii. cap. 17.) but on re-

[a] An error of tranſcribers, as I ſuppoſe, or of the preſs.

ferring

ferring to the place cited am unable to find it. "Mali angeli ſumſerunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, &c. quos Gentiles deos eſſe credebant, nunc S. Sebaſtiani, Barbaræ, &c. nomen habent, et aliorum."

"Pour meſme occaſion, il me ſemble que lors au lieu des *Pervigilia, et lectiſternia* Payens, les Chreſtiens ſe resjouyrent aux veilles et anniverſaires de leurs martirs. Et pour monſtrer qu'ils avoient ſoin des biens et de l'abondance publique, au lieu de *Februa, Vinalia, Ambarvalia, Robigalia,* auſſi prieres de Payens, feſtoyer la purification, et les brandons, et en affliction de peſte, famine, ou guerre, faire nos proceſſions, rogations et litanies (c'eſt à dire ſupplications) eſquelles, et aux *Nudipedalia* (c'eſtoient proceſſions et voyages faits pieds nuds) on appelloit noſtre Seigneur Jeſus Chriſt, au lieu de Jupiter, et autres faux dieux Payens: ce qui n'eſtoit Páianiſer, mais ſagement contremíner le Páianiſme, et comme un contrefort pour parer aux reproches que les Payens faiſoient aux Chreſtiens, diſans, que depuis leur venue et meſpris de la religion ancienne, tout malheur eſtoit arrivé au monde, tant de guerre que de peſte et famine, etans les faiſons deſaiſonnes, pour la publique impieté." Fauchet, Eſtat de la Religion en Gaule du temps de Clovis, p. 124. Antiquitez et Hiſtoires Gauloiſes et Françoiſes, 4to. 1611. Geneve. The date of the Epiſtle Dedicatory is 1599.

"What, I pray you, be ſuch ſaints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain countreyes, ſpoyling God of his due honour herein, but Dii tutelares of the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Aſſyrians, Oſiris and Iſis to the Egyptians,

Egyptians, Vulcane to the Lemnians, and to ſuch other. What bee ſuch ſaints to whom the ſafeguard of certaine cities are appoynted, but Dii præſides, with the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be ſuch ſaints, to whom, contrary to the uſe of the primitive Church, temples and churches be builded, and altars erected, but Dii patroni, of the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were in the Capitoll, Jupiter; in Paphus Temple, Venus; in Epheſus Temple, Diana; and ſuch like. Alas, wee ſeem, in thus thinking and doing, to have learned our religion not out of God's word, but out of the Pagan poets, who ſay,

> Exceſſere omnes, adytis, ariſque relictis,
> Dii quibus imperium hoc ſteterat, &c.

That is to ſay, all the Gods, by whoſe defence this empire ſtood, are gone out of the temples, and have forſaken their altars. And where one ſaint hath images in divers places, the ſame ſaint hath divers names thereof, moſt like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our Lady of Walſingham, our Lady of Ipſwich, our Lady of Wilſdon, and ſuch other: what is it but an imitation of the Gentiles idolaters? Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Epheſia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia.—And they have not only ſpoyled the true living God of his due honour, in temples, cities, countreyes, and lands, by ſuch devices and inventions as the Gentiles idolaters have done before them: but the ſea and waters have as well ſpecial ſaints with them, as they had gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Caſtor and Pollux, Venus, and ſuch other. In whoſe

whoſe places be come Saint Chriſtophe, Saint Clément, and divers others, and ſpecially our Lady, to whom ſhipmen ſing, Ave maris ſtella. Neither hath fire ſcaped the idolatrous inventions. For, inſtead of Vulcan and Veſta, the Gentiles gods of the fire, our men have placed Saint Agatha, and make letters on her day for to quench fire with. Every artificer and profeſſion hath his ſpecial ſaint as a peculiar god. As for example, ſchollers have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory, painters St. Luke, neither lacke ſouldiers their Mars, nor lovers their Venus, amongſt Chriſtians!" The 3d part of the Sermon againſt Perill of Idolatry, 2d tome of Homilies, London, 1633.

See Middleton's Letter from Rome, 131, 133, 137, 143, &c. &c. Warburton's well known opinion, "that the very ſame ſpirit of ſuperſtition, operating in equal circumſtances, made both Papiſts and Pagans truly originals," will hardly be contended for as true, though every paradox of that great prelate well deſerves to be ſtudied for its ingenuity. See Div. Leg. book iv. §. 6. the two laſt pages, with the note againſt Middleton, and Middleton's Poſtſcript to the Letter from Rome: and Gibbon, at the cloſe of chap. 28.

X.

For an account of the enthuſiaſm, the viſions, and the ecſtaſies of Loyola, ſee Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, p. 49—52. ed. Pariſ. 1680. Benard, i. p. 8. Stillingfleet's Works, v. 118, 119. Paſquier, Cat. des Jeſuites, chap. 17. He pretended to have received a divine ſanction to the conſtitutions of the order, and prophetic revelations of its future great-

neſs. (Hiſtoire de l'admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuſcoa, à la Haye, 1764. vol. i. p. 177, 178. Directorium in Exercitia Spiritualia, cited Hiſtoire Générale des Jeſuites, 4 vol. Amſt. 1761. vol. i. p. 7.) His followers have been very far from doubting the reality of theſe magnificent gifts of the Holy Spirit. "Scripſit illa quidem (exercitia ſpiritualia) Ignatius, ſed dictante Maria." Imago primi Sæculi, cited Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. i. 18. "Noviſſime autem diebus iſtis locutus eſt nobis (Deus) in filio ſuo Ignatio, quem conſtituit hæredem univerſorum." Auct. Jeſ. cited ibid. iii. 233. To this language correſponds the print prefixed to Tanner's "Societas Apoſtolorum imitatrix," where St. Ignatius is repreſented "dans une nuage, d'où, comme un autre Meſſie, il répand ſur toute la terre ſon eſprit ſous des formes de langues de feu." Benard, D. P. p. 69. I cannot, however, but ſuppoſe, that theſe pretenſions of the founder of the order of the Jeſuits may be referred with more propriety to enthuſiaſm, than to any ſtudied imitation of the intercourſe which Lycurgus is ſaid to have held with Apollo, or Numa with the nymph Egeria. See Chalotais, p. 45, 46. Yet ſome preſumptions of impoſture may be alleged againſt Loyola himſelf. When Salmonet and Brouet, two of the original members of the Jeſuit Society, were appointed Papal nuncios to Scotland, he directed them to purſue that ſyſtem of accommodation, for which the order has been ſince ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed. Benard, i. 56. Towards the end of his career, the ſpirit of inſincerity is ſtill more apparent. Dom Inigo, ii. 116, 117[a]. His progreſs indeed may, I think, eaſily be

[a] The whole progreſs, alſo, of the Society is ſaid to have been attended

traced from the moſt frantic enthuſiaſm to a cool and ſyſtematic policy. (See Bouhours, p. 314.) He repeatedly ſubmitted the Exercitia Spiritualia, and the Conſtitutions of the order to the correction of his aſſociates (Bouhours, 426. Benard, i. 105. Geddes's View of the Orders of the Monks and Friars of the Romiſh Church, p. 106. Tracts, vol. iii.), which he can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have done, till the impreſſion was ſenſibly weakened, that he had written under the influence of the Holy Ghoſt. That the Conſtitutions did in fact undergo important alterations, by other hands than thoſe of their firſt author, is evident not only from teſtimony, but alſo from the great judgment, (great, at leaſt, conſidering the time of their formation,) which is conſpicuous in the plan of literary education, which they preſcribe for the colleges of the order: a plan which its founder, who was confeſſedly ignorant, could not poſſibly have deviſed. Even though the excellence of this ſyſtem were not to be inferred from the unconteſted ſuperiority of learning, which was poſſeſſed by the Jeſuits

attended and conſecrated by all the lying wonders of the Romiſh legends. A multitude of Loyola's miracles are recorded by Bouhours, Ribadeneira, and other Jeſuits. Ribadeneira is ſaid in the firſt editions of the Life of Ignatius to have confeſſed, that this ſaint did not poſſeſs the gift of miracles. He inſerted, however, a great number of miracles in an after edition, publiſhed in 1612. Dom Inigo, ii. pp. 172, 173.

Inſtances of the energetic ſpirit of fanaticiſm, by which many of the early Jeſuits were diſtinguiſhed, are to be found in all their hiſtorians. (See Benard, i. pp. 95, 96. ii. 164.) It would ſeem from the language of Aquaviva, as reported by M. de la Chalotais, p. 127. that this celebrated general, though no enthuſiaſt himſelf, was yet certainly deſirous to excite enthuſiaſm in others.

over all the other eccleſiaſtical ſocieties, it will be ſufficiently obvious to any perſon who will examine particularly that part of the conſtitutions which relates to it.

XI.

" Interrogetur, an habuerit, vel habeat conceptus aliquos vel opiniones ab iis differentes, quæ communius ab eccleſia, et doctoribus ab eadem approbatis tenentur; et ſi quando hujuſmodi opiniones animum ſubierint, num paratus ſit ad judicium ſuum ſubmittendum, ſentiendumque ut fuerit conſtitutum in ſocietate de hujuſmodi rebus ſentire oportere.

" Interrogetur, an quibuſvis in ſcrupulis, vel difficultatibus ſpiritualibus, vel aliis quibuſcunque, quas patiatur, vel aliquando pati contigerit, ſe dijudicandum relinquet, et acquieſcet aliorum de Societate, qui doctrina et probitate ſunt præditi, ſententiis." Conſtitutiones et Declarationes examinis generalis Soc. Jeſu, 8vo. Romæ 1570. pp. 15, 16, 17.

" Et exactiſſime omnes nervos virium noſtrarum ad hanc virtutem obedientiæ, in primis ſummo Pontifici, deinde ſuperioribus ſocietatis exhibendam intendamus: ita ut omnibus in rebus, ad quas poteſt cum charitate ſe obedientia extendere, ad ejus vocem perinde ac ſi a Chriſto Domino egrederetur (quandoquidem ipſius loco ac pro ipſius amore ac reverentia obedientiam præſtamus) quam promptiſſimi ſimus, re quavis atque adeo litera a nobis inchoata necdum perfecta ſtudio celeriter obediendi relicta, ad eum ſcopum vires omnes ac intentionem in Domino convertendo, ut ſancta obedientia tum in executione tum in voluntate, tum in intellectu ſit in nobis ſemper

per in omni parte perfecta: cum magna celeritate, ſpirituali gaudio, et perſeverantia quicquid nobis injunctum fuerit obeundo, omnia juſta eſſe nobis perſuadendo: omnem ſententiam et judicium noſtrum contrarium cœca quadam obedientia abnegando, et id quidem in omnibus quæ a ſuperiore diſponuntur, ubi definiri non poſſit (quemadmodum dictum eſt) aliquod peccati genus intercedere. Et ſibi quiſque perſuadeat, quod qui ſub obedientia vivunt ſe ferri ac regi a divina Providentia per ſuperiores ſuos ſinere debent, perinde ac ſi cadaver eſſent: quod quoquoverſus ferri, et quacunque ratione tractari ſe finit: vel ſimiliter atque ſenis baculus qui ubicunque et quacunque in re velit eo uti, qui eam manu tenet, ei inſervit." Ibid. part. vi. §. 1. p. 140, 141.

Theſe principles were afterwards conſiſtently reduced to practice. In the year 1605, the provincial of Chili and Paraguay declared to the Jeſuits of his province, "que l'intention du Général de la compagnie étoit que ceux qui demeureroient dans ſon dioceſe fuſſent entre ſes mains comme des ouvriers, dont il pouvoit diſpoſer abſolument." Charlevoix, Hiſt. du Paraguay, vol. ii. p. 10. 12mo.

XII.

See Chalotais, pp. 30, 31—34. note (n). The General could originate all meaſures without efficient controul. (Arrêt du Parlement de Bretagne, note, "Conſilium vero," &c. ibid. 194.) He is ſuppoſed, indeed, by the Formula Societatis Jeſu, which is recited in the bull for the formation of the order, to convene on important occaſions a conſiderable number of its members: but this direction ſeems to be

given with a view ſolely to the benefit of their advice, not the concurrence of their authority; for the Formula proceeds, "Jubendi autem jus totum penes Præpoſitum erit." See the Bull cited in the Mercure Jeſuite, i. p. 306. "Nam licet Generalis habeat ſuos conſiliarios, tamen non tenetur ſtare ipſorum conſilio, ſed eſt Dominus Dominantium, et facit quod vult, nullis legibus adſtrictus, unde mortificat, et vivificat, deprimit et exaltat quem vult, ac ſi eſſet Deus qui liber eſſet ab omni animi perturbatione, et non poſſet errare." Memorial preſented to Clement VIII. ibid. ii. 200. See Mariana, Diſcours des défauts du gouvernement des Jeſ. ibid. vol. ii. chap. 10.

"Viſum eſt nobis in Domino . . . nullas conſtitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi poſſe obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere . . . niſi ſuperior ea . . . in virtute obedientiæ juberet." Conſt. cited Chalotais, p. 34. note (m).

"Expedit in primis ad profectum, et valde neceſſarium eſt ut omnes perfectæ obedientiæ ſe dedant, ſuperiorem (quicunque ille ſit) loco Chriſti Domini noſtri agnoſcentes," &c. Conſt. p. 55.

XIII.

"Cum autem communicatio, quæ cum amicis et ſanguine junctis verbo aut ſcripto fit, potius ad quietis perturbationem, quam ad eorum qui ſpiritui vacant profectum, præſertim in initiis facere ſoleat: interrogentur, num contenti ſint cum hujuſmodi non communicare, nec literas accipere, nec ſcribere; niſi aliqua occaſione Superiori aliter videtur; et quamdiu domi fuerint, num contenti ſint ut videantur literæ omnes, et quæ ipſis ſcribentur, et quæ ipſi aliis ſcribent;

bent; ei, cui hujuſmodi munus commiſſum eſt, cura relicta, ut eas det, vel non det, quemadmodum in Domino noſtro magis expedire judicabit..... Et ita curandum ei eſt, ut omnem carnis affectum erga ſanguine junctos exuat, ac illum in ſpiritualem convertat; eoſque diligat eo ſolum amore, quem ordinata charitas exigit, ut qui mundo ac proprio amori mortuus Chriſto Domino noſtro ſoli vivit, eumque loco parentum, fratrum, et rerum omnium habet." Exam. Gen. Conſt. cap. 4. "Pauperibus diſpenſare debent, ut conſilium evangelicum, quod non dicit, Da conſanguineis, ſed pauperibus, perfectius ſequantur; et ut melius exemplum omnibus exhibeant inordinatum erga parentes affectum exuendi, et incommoda inordinatæ diſtributionis, quæ a dicto amore procedit, declinandi; atque ut ad parentes et conſanguineos recurrendi et ad inutilem ipſorum memoriam aditu præcluſo, firmius et ſtabilius in ſua vocatione perſeverent." Ibid.

There is a letter of Goſwin Nickel, General of the Society, "De Nationali, Provincialique pernicioſo Spiritu in Societate vitando," (Corpus Inſt. Soc. Jeſu, 2 vol. a Meurſio, Antwerp. 1702. vol. ii. p. 860.) from which the following ſentence is extracted. "Iſtum ego ventum (Matt. vii. 27.) RR. PP. non alium in præſentia dixerim quam hunc de quo agere conſtitui, peregrinum Spiritum, frigidum, maleficum, plane horribilem et peſtilentem ventum: quippe, qui, non faſtigiorum ſolum pinnulas tegulaſque tectorum, damno utique reparabili, decutere contentus, totum ipſum molis quamlibet ſolidæ corpus, a quatuor, ut de Jobi domo ſcribitur, complexus angulis robuſteque ſuccutiens, univerſas ſimul ædificii compages laxat,

et viſendam ingentis operis fabricam in ruderum informium acervos momento commutat." p. 861.

XIV.

" Seducitur a ſtudiorum Præfecto adoleſcens, Jeſuitarum diſciplinæ qui traditur, et cubiculo includitur, ubi Jeſuita quidam magnum volumen, cujuſmodi ſunt menſariorum tabulæ ſive acceptorum expenſorumque codices, proferre ſolet, in eumque omnia quæ roganti reſponderit, magna cum fide præſcribere: Quod ipſi nomen ſit? quæ ætas? quas prius ſcholas adiiſſet? qui eſſent parentes? quæ illorum ætas? quis cenſus? haberentne prædia et fundos? et ubi? quas cognationes, conſanguinitates, affinitates, et utrum ex iis adhuc hæreditatum aliquarum acceſſionem ſperarent? tum utrum eſſent ſorores, eæque innuptæ et nubiles, an jam nuptæ et quibus? Facile conjicere eſt cui uſui Jeſuitæ ſibi reſervent arcanos iſtos codices, et quid iſtis examinibus velint." De cauſis publici erga Jeſuitas odii Diſſertatio, p. 337, 8. Merc. Jeſuit. vol. ii. " Ideo quicunque hanc ſocietatem in Domino ſequi volet, et in eadem ad majorem Dei gloriam manere, priuſquam ad primam probationem accedat, vel, poſtquam ingreſſus fuerit, antequam generaliter examinetur, vel, poſt examen, intra aliquot menſes, (ni Superiori differendum videretur) ſub ſigillo confeſſionis vel ſecreti, vel quacunque ratione ei placuerit, et ad majorem ipſius conſolationem fuerit, debeat conſcientiam ſuam magna cum humilitate, puritate, et charitate manifeſtare, re nulla qua dominum univerſorum offenderit, celata, et totius anteactæ vitæ rationem integram, vel certe rerum majoris momenti, Superiori, qui tum fuerit, ſocietatis,

cietatis, vel cui ex præpoſitis, vel aliis ex inferioribus ille injungeret, prout magis convenire videretur, reddat." Conſt. et decl. cap. iv. p. 32.

Poſtquam primo aliquis eorum integram vitæ rationem Superiori domus reddidit, ab eodem inchoando, prioribus quæ eidem dixit non repetitis, iterum poſt ſemeſtre proximum plus minus ei, vel cui a Superiore fuerit conſtitutum, vitæ rationem reddet. Deinde a ſecunda hac ratione incipiendo eodem ordine procedetur: et ſexto quoque menſe rationem hanc ſui quiſque reddet. Ultima vero circiter triginta dies antequam profeſſi futuri ſuam profeſſionem et coadjutores ſua vota emittant, reddetur." Ibid. p. 33.

" Ad majorem in ſpiritu profectum, et præcipue ad majorem ſubmiſſionem et humilitatem propriam interrogetur, an contentus ſit futurus ut omnes errores et defectus ipſius et res quæcunque quæ notatæ in eo et obſervatæ fuerint, Superioribus per quemvis qui extra confeſſionem ea acceperit, manifeſtentur." Ibid. See Benard, i. 63.

XV.

" Conferet ut Superiores aliquando occaſionem præbeant iis qui probantur, exercendi obedientiæ et paupertatis virtutem, eoſdem tentando ad majorem ipſorum utilitatem ſpiritualem, eo modo, quo Dominus Abraham tentavit: ut et ſpecimen virtutis ſuæ præbeant, et in eadem creſcant. In eo tamen quoad ejus fieri poſſit, menſura et proportio juxta unius cujuſque vires ut diſcretio dictabit, obſervetur." Declar. Conſt. c. 4. See alſo Benard, i. 60. Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, 324, &c. Chalotais, 37, 160, 161.

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In the Catechiſme des Jeſuites is given a copy of one of the blank ſchedules which were filled up by the rectors of the Jeſuit ſeminaries, with a particular account of thoſe perſons whoſe education they ſuperintended. There are ſeparate columns for obſervations on *Ingenium, Judicium, Prudentia, Experientia, Profectus in literis, Naturalis complexio, Ad quæ ſocietatis miniſteria talentum habeat.* p. 279. See p. 280. livre ii. chap. 4. ed. Delft. 1717.

It may be obſerved alſo, that only the *profès des quatre vœux* were under the neceſſary obligation of wearing the peculiar habit of the ſociety. (Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſuites. iii. 250, 251.) Laymen were admitted into the order, for the purpoſe of extending its influence as far as poſſible. Jeſuit architects and maſons were to be found in Paraguay. (Second Letter of F. Cajetan Cattaneo: Muratori on Paraguay, Engl. Tranſl. p. 249.) Turks and Armenians, and even Lutherans, were adopted into it in India. Norbert, iii. 90.

"M. de Valory (a Pruſſian reſident at Canton) preſſed a rich merchant of Hamburgh his friend, a Lutheran, and married, to become a member of the Free Maſon Society, to which he himſelf belonged. The merchant was deſirous, in the firſt inſtance, to know the nature of the fraternity, into which he was invited. M. de Valory aſſured him, that there was no circumſtance attending it, at which he need be alarmed, though, indeed, its members promiſed upon oath to preſerve an inviolable ſecrecy as to what paſſed among them. On the mention of ſecrecy the merchant replied, that there was one perſon, and one only, in whom he neceſſarily placed implicit confidence,

dence, and from whom he could have no ſecrets. On being ſtrongly preſſed to declare who this perſon could be, ſince, as he ſaid, it was not his wife, and, as he was a Lutheran, it could not be his confeſſor; he was at length obliged to avow himſelf to be a Jeſuit, to declare that he had taken the vow of obedience, and was bound to keep nothing ſecret from the Superior of the order at Canton. His friend, aſtoniſhed at this diſcloſure, enquired how the character of Jeſuit could be conſiſtent with his profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, and his being married? The merchant replied, that theſe circumſtances created no difficulty. —But what can poſſibly have induced you to become a Jeſuit?—I am by this means ſupplied with correſpondents in all parts of the world, who are of great ſervice to me in commerce." Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. vol. iii. 261, 262.

XVI.

"Je veux," ſays the author of the Reflexions d'un Portugais, "que St. Ignace de Loyola n'ait point entendu fineſſe, quand il s'eſt aſtreint avec ſes compagnons à obéir aveuglement au Pape, mais ſon ſucceſſeur le fameux Lainés et les autres Supérieurs, donnant à la politique ce qui n'étoit que du reſſort de la religion, prévirent que ce vœu, bien loin de les aſſujettir davantage, ſeroit la baſe de leur grandeur future." Reflexions d'un Portugais, London, 12mo. 1760. Pref. p. vii.

See Chalotais, pp. 21, 22, ad fin. 23, ſub init. 39. and Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iv. 103. The following declaration is in a bull of Pius V. "Decernentes præſentes literas nullo unquam tempore per nos aut ſedem

dem prædictam revocari, aut limitari, aut illis derogari poſſe; et quoties revocari, alterari, limitari, vel derogari contingat, toties in priſtinum et eum in quo ante præmiſſa erant, ſtatum reſtitutas, et de novo, etiam ſub poſteriori data per pro tempore exiſtentem . . . Præpoſitum generalem . . . . conceſſas eſſe et fore." Chalotais, p. 95.

"Quæ poſtquam mutatæ, alteratæ, ſeu de novo conditæ fuerint, eo ipſo Apoſtolica auctoritate confirmatæ cenſeantur." Bull of 1543. Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſuites, i. 104. "Quoties dubium fuerit in intellectu privilegiorum noſtræ ſocietatis, ſemper per juriſperitos et alios judices in favorem ſocietatis fiat interpretatio." Priv. Jeſ. cit. Plaidoyer pour le Syndic des creanciers des Sieurs Lioncy freres et Gouffre, &c. Paris, 1761. p. 142, 143.

The Jeſuits, in truth, whenever the court of Rome ſeemed indiſpoſed to their intereſts, did not heſitate to aſſume and to promulgate doctrines entirely inconſiſtent with the very foundations of the Papal power. (Monarchie des Soliſes, p. 263, 264.) The author of the Imago primi Sæculi aſſerted, that the deciſions of the Pope were then only infallible, when the order of the Jeſuits had been conſulted. (Ibid. p. 31.) Innocent XI. in 1668. condemned ſixty-five propoſitions ſelected from the Jeſuit caſuiſts, which, however, the order continued to defend. (Hiſtoire de Port Royal par J. Racine, p. 157. Oeuvres, vol. i.) The miſſionaries of the Jeſuits have, in many inſtances, particularly in India, entirely abandoned their obedience to the holy See under various pretences; ſuch as a want of proper documents or powers in the apoſtolical legates, an alleged informality in the apoſtolical

ſtolical decrees, or deficient evidence of their authenticity. In ſome caſes they pretended that the Pope had decided without ſufficient knowledge, and appealed to his deliberate judgment, when he ſhould be better informed upon the queſtion at iſſue: in others, preſuming, probably, on their diſtance or their power, more than on the juſtice of their cauſe, they ſcrupled not an open reſiſtance to his authority. Their conduct in this reſpect was ſo glaring, that a decree paſſed the congregation De Propaganda in 1684, prohibiting the admiſſion of novices into the ſociety, till its obedience ſhould be completely eſtabliſhed. (Norbert, Mémoires Hiſtoriques, Apologetiques, &c. vol. iii. p. 435. à Londres, 1751.) Even while the deſtruction of the order was preparing, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a ſimilar reſiſtance ſeems to have been dreaded by Benedict XIV. whoſe brief for the reformation of the Portugueſe Jeſuits is ſaid to have been diſpatched from Rome, "inſcia Societate, inſciis Cardinalibus." Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal, Amſt. 1761. Avertiſſement prefix. p. 42. Lainés had ſet the example of diſobedience to the Pope at a very early period. (Benard, livre iv. §. 43. &c.)

XVII.

The authors of this extraordinary code, conſcious of the juſt clamour which would be excited by its public notoriety, obliged all members of the order to maintain a profound ſecrecy reſpecting it [b]. The

[b] Regulæ Communes, §. 38. cited Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 120.

whole of their myſterious polity was never diſcovered to the ordinary, nor even to all the profeſſed Jeſuits. "To the novices are communicated only the Apoſtolical Letters of Julius III. the abridgment of the Conſtitutions, and the common rules. Nor have the other Jeſuits acceſs to any additional information concerning the nature of their Inſtitutes, but ſuch as relates to the charge with which they are immediately intruſted [c]." No Jeſuit, therefore, who might be expelled from the Society, could poſſibly reveal its ſecrets in any complete and ſatisfactory manner [d]. In a letter from one of the aſſiſtants of the order at Rome, written towards the middle of the eighteenth century, there are expreſſions of the following import. "It is only ſince my arrival here, that I underſtand any thing of the nature of our Society. Its

120. or ſee the Secreta Monita Societatis Jeſu, (3d ed. London, Lat. and Engliſh. 1759.) Pref. p. xvi. "Cavendum omnino ne in manus externorum hæc monita deveniant, quia ſiniſtre ea interpretarentur deſtinationi noſtræ invidentes: quod ſi hoc accidat (quod abſit) negentur hæc eſſe ſenſa ſocietatis, idque per illos confirmando e noſtris, de quibus certo conſtet, quod ea ignorent: opponanturque his monita noſtra generalia, et ordinationes ſeu regulæ impreſſæ vel ſcriptæ." But I ſuſpect this work to be a forgery. Paul III. by the bull of 1549, permits the General of the Jeſuits to poiſon ſuch perſons as may have revealed the rules of the ſociety. Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 120. This ſtudious ſecrecy may be compared with the ſolicitude of the primitive Chriſtians to ſubmit their laws to the obſervation and cognizance of the Emperors.

[c] Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 78. Decl. in exam. cap. i. cit. Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iii. 239.

[d] Hiſtoire du Paraguay ſous les Jeſuites, par Bernardo Ibanes de Echavarri, 3 vol. 8vo. Amſt. et Leipſic. 1780. vol. i. p. 197.

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government is a ſeparate ſcience, of which the Provincials themſelves underſtand nothing. It is neceſſary to be in the poſt which I occupy to begin to comprehend it[e]." The ſtill farther precaution was adopted by the General, of uſing cyphers in his correſpondence; and it was directed, that immediately on the death of any perſon, who had in his poſſeſſion letters from the General, the Aſſiſtants, or the Provincial of the order, ſuch letters ſhould inſtantly be burned without being read[f].

Of the edicts which poſſeſſed the force of laws among the Jeſuits, there are many, it is believed, which they have never printed[g]; and even the *Conſtitutions*, properly ſo called, they have ſeldom committed to the preſs, but in the colleges of the order. Whenever they ventured to print this work elſewhere, they always took precautions to ſecure the whole impreſſion[h]. It was, however, clearly impoſſible, that theſe precautions could be univerſally ſucceſsful. The order has at all times had too many enemies to be able, for any long period, to retain the excluſive poſſeſſion of a volume, numerous copies of which were printed, though not publiſhed, and which all the activity of malice was exerted to procure.

[e] Ibid. 194. See Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 55. note (2). and Erreurs impies et ſéditieuſes que les Jeſuites ont enſeignées, &c. Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. vol. i. p. 308.

[f] Chalotais, 160, 161. Echavarri, Hiſtoire du Paraguay, i. 195, 196. "On ne prend ces précautions qu'avec les ennemis. Le régime des Jeſuites eſt-il en état de guerre avec tous les empires?" Chalotais, ubi ſup.

[g] Chalotais, p. 20.

[h] Ibid. p. 27.

Hoſ-

Hoſpinian, in the Hiſtoria Jeſuitica, publiſhed in 1619, gives a complete abſtract of the Conſtitutions. They are quoted, with accurate knowledge, in the Catechiſme des Jeſuites of Paſquier, who died in 1615[i]. M. Benard, the author of the Hiſtoire de la Compagnie de Jeſus, printed at Utrecht in 1741, refers to the edition of Lyons in 1607; and if I miſtake not, I have ſomewhere ſeen mention of an edition in 1599. The extracts from the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits, which are to be found in the Mercure Jeſuite, are taken from an edition printed at Rome in 1583. The citations in theſe notes are extracted, wherever the conſtitutions are immediately referred to, from a ſmall volume in the Britiſh Muſeum, Romæ, 1570. It is ſaid in the Monarchie des Solipſes, p. 116, 117, that a copy eſcaped from the preſs of J. Rouffin at Lyons, in 1607, which ſerved as a prototype to ſeveral editions in Germany. This liſt might, I believe, eaſily be increaſed, without adding to it editions of later date. The conſtitutions, as originally drawn up, are of ſmall bulk, and being calculated for a common manual, have, it is probable, been very frequently reprinted. But I have already been more particular in theſe notices than would be neceſſary, were it not proper to obſerve, that the very eminent author of the Hiſtory of Charles V. has expreſſed himſelf rather inaccurately on the ſubject to which they relate.

"It was a favourite maxim," he ſays, "with the Jeſuits, from their firſt inſtitution, not to publiſh the rules of their order. Theſe they kept concealed as

[i] See Cat. des Jeſ. livre ii. chap. i. 10. &c.

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an impenetrable myſtery. They never communicated them to ſtrangers, nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refuſed to produce them when required by courts of juſtice; and, by a ſtrange ſolecism in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the eſtabliſhment of an order of men, whoſe conſtitution and laws were concealed with a ſolicitude, which alone was a good reaſon for having excluded them. During the proſecutions lately carried on againſt them in Portugal and France, the Jeſuits have been ſo inconſiderate as to produce the myſterious volumes of their inſtitute. By the aid of theſe authentick records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the ſources of their power inveſtigated, with a degree of certainty and preciſion, which previous to that event it was impoſſible to attain." Charles V. vol. ii. p. 460. 1ſt ed.

Now it can ſcarcely be ſaid, that the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits were kept concealed as an impenetrable myſtery, at a time when they had been repeatedly publiſhed in the reformed as well as the catholic ſtates of Europe; particularly, as no intimation is given, though the work of Hoſpinian is ſlightly mentioned in a note, that the attempt to conceal them had on the whole been unſucceſsful. Dr. Robertſon was poſſibly miſled by the following paſſage in M. D'Alembert's Eſſai ſur la deſtruction des Jeſuites. "Cette queſtion fournit au parlement une occaſion toute naturelle de demander à voir ces conſtitutions fameuſes, qui jamais n'avaient été ni examinées, ni approuvées avec les formes requiſes. L'examen de ces conſtitu-

tions, et enſuite celui de leurs livres, a fourni des moyens *juridiques* plus que ſuffiſans pour déclarer leur inſtitut contraire aux loix du royaume, à l'obéiſſance due au ſouverain, à la ſureté de ſa perſonne, et à la tranquillité de l'état." p. 112, 113. ed. 1765. It is evident, that the notoriety and the authorized promulgation of a work are entirely different.

But it may ſtill be ſuppoſed, that, though the Conſtitutions, in their ancient form, had frequently been made public, they had at different periods experienced important changes, which continued to be kept ſecret. In this caſe, the obſervations of Dr. Robertſon might be applicable to the Conſtitutions, as altered by the later Generals. They alſo may ſeem applicable to any other concealed edicts, by whatever title diſtinguiſhed, which poſſeſſed the force of laws among the Jeſuits. It is clear, however, to me, that though numerous additions have inconteſtably been made to the original Conſtitutions, ſome, perhaps, ſuch as partially to ſuperſede them, yet no alteration in the letter of the ſtatute has taken place. I have collated ſeveral pages, and the moſt eſſential paſſages, of the edition printed at Rome in 1570, and that of Antwerp in 1702, which have both of them the ſanction of the Society. So far as I have compared them, they are preciſely ſimilar. The chapters and ſections are apparently the ſame in each. The firſt of theſe publications is a very ſmall octavo: the ſecond conſiſts of two cloſely-printed quartos, the greater part of which is occupied by various pieces, of which the date and purport are expreſſed by their reſpective titles: ſuch as

Regulæ

Regulæ Societatis Jeſu, autoritate ſeptimæ Congregationis generalis auctæ.

Formulæ Congregationum in quarta generali Congregatione confectæ et approbatæ, in ſexta et ſeptima recognitæ et auctæ.

The edition of Prague, in 2 vol. fol. 1757, which was communicated to M. de la Chalotais, included more of theſe pieces, probably, than any which preceded it; but the Conſtitutions, ſtrictly ſpeaking, occupied but 91 pages in this edition. There ſeems to be ſome confuſion on the ſubject, occaſioned, perhaps, by an indefinite uſe of the terms Inſtitute and Conſtitutions [k]: but, whatever infidelities may have been committed in other inſtances, there is, I think, no reaſon to apprehend, that the text of the Conſtitutiones et Declarationes examinis Generalis Soc. Jeſu, Romæ, 1570, has at any time been violated. This alſo, I believe, was a re-impreſſion from a preceding edition in 1550.

The parts taken reſpectively by Loyola, and by his original aſſociates, in drawing up the Conſtitutions, it muſt ever, probably, be impoſſible to determine. The part taken by Lainés will not, perhaps, very eaſily be exaggerated. Aquaviva, however, the fifth General of the order, who ſucceeded to that dignity in 1581, could not have had ſo important a ſhare in forming the ſpirit and policy of the Society, as is uſually attributed to him. Its ſpirit had been completely formed before the period of his acceſſion, as the extracts from the early edition of the Conſtitutions, which I have cited in

[k] See Chalotais, 49, 50. Mariana, cap. 15.

the notes to theſe Lectures, may be of themſelves ſufficient to evince. Even M. de la Chalotais ſeems inclined to the common opinion; but had he been confined to the uſe of the ancient Conſtitutions alone, that complete expoſure of the dangerous organization and policy of the Jeſuits, which is effected by his able treatiſe, would not in any ſenſible degree have been leſs ſtriking than it is.

XVIII.

Gluttony was determined by Eſcobar not to be ſinful, "niſi quis ſe uſque ad vomitum ingurgitet." Lettres Provinciales, p. 145. Father Bauny ſeems to be of opinion, that exceſs in eating and drinking is not properly to be conſidered as a violation of faſting, becauſe exceſs is not leſs unfriendly than abſtinence to that bodily vigour, which it is the intention of faſting to enfeeble. (Portrait au naturel des Jeſuites, à la fin du Parallele de la doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jeſuites, Amſt. 1731. p. 20.)

For other ſpecimens of the accommodating morality of the Jeſuits, ſee ibid. p. 10, &c. "Qui damnum nullum dedit, rem aliquam accipiens, quia ea dominus non utebatur, non tenetur reſtituere, ſi nulli uſui eſt domino futura." Emanuel Sa, verbo furtum, cap. vi. p. 292. cited ibid. p. 14. For their ſyſtem of mental reſervations, ſee Lettres Provinciales, p. 145, 146. Promiſes, they ſay, do not oblige, where there has been no intention to perform. (Ibid. p. 146, 147.)

"It is evident, therefore," ſays Lami, "that theſe eccleſiaſtics may lawfully vindicate their reputation, ſo long as they do not exceed the bounds of a moderate and juſt defence, 'laquelle peut aller juſqu'à tuer les per-

perſonnes qui les diffament.' They are indeed, in ſome caſes, obliged by the law of charity to defend their honour in this manner: in thoſe caſes, namely, where the loſs of their individual reputation would tend to the diſgrace of the order." Tome v. Diſp. 36. no. 118. ed. Anvers. cited Erreurs Impies et Séditieuſes, &c. Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. i. 286. See alſo Buſembaum, cited p. 288. " Theſe means," he ſays, namely homicide or murder, " are permitted to eccleſiaſtics, according to the doctrine of probability, for the recovery of their temporal goods." " In certain caſes," ſays Viva, " an innocent perſon ought to ſupport ſome degree of defamation, rather than avail himſelf of this mode of defence." Ibid. 291. " S'il ſe rencontre une honnête raiſon de cacher la vérité ; comme s'il vous étoit expédient de la déguiſer pour la conſervation de votre ſanté, de votre honneur, et de votre bien, de votre perſonne, et de ceux qui vous appartiennent ; et même s'il vous étoit utile de nier une vérité ſur laquelle on vous interroge injuſtement, vous pouvez déguiſer et nier la vérité ſans commettre aucune faute. Il vous ſeroit même permis de faire un ſerment équivoque pour les mêmes raiſons." Caſtropalao, cited ibid. p. 297. See alſo for many ſtriking extracts of the ſame kind, illuſtrating the moral caſuiſtry of the order, Dornford's Tranſlation of Pütter's Hiſtorical Developement of the preſent political conſtitution of the Germanic empire," vol. ii. p. 6. &c. 8vo. 1790. The Jeſuits, in truth, according to this ſyſtem, had good reaſon to declare, that " les Peres (anciens de l'Egliſe) étoient bons pour la morale de leur temps,

mais ils ſont trop eſloignez pour celle de nôtre." Provinciales, p. 72.

For ſpeculations on the lawfulneſs of tyrannicide, ſee Anti-Cotton, chap. i. (ed. printed at the Hague in 12mo. 1764. and annexed to the Hiſtoire de Dom Inigo de Guipuſcoa,) and M. de la Chalotais, p. 62. &c. "In hac cauſa," ſays Suarez, "unum ſumus." Chalotais, 149. The ſententious dignity aſſumed by Molina, in relating the aſſaſſination of Henry III. of France by James Clement, is ſuch as to appear worthy of inſertion. "Suo ſanguine patriæ communis et gentis libertatem redemptam inter ictus et vulnera impenſe lætabatur; cæſo Rege ingens ſibi nomen fecit. Cæde cædes expiata, ac manibus Ducis perfide pereuntis [1] regio ſanguine parentatum. Monimentum nobile, inſigne ad memoriam, atque mirabile . . . quo principes doceantur impios auſus haud impune cedere. . . . . Præclare cum rebus humanis ageretur, ſi multi homines forti pectore invenirentur pro libertate patriæ, vitæ contemptores et ſalutis, ſed pleroſque incolumitatis cupiditas retinet magnis ſæpe conatibus adverſa. Itaque ex tanto numero tyrannorum, quales antiquis temporibus extiterunt, paucos quoſdam numerare licet ferro ſuorum periiſſe." Molina, cited Chalotais 71, 72.

It cannot be expected, that I ſhould here enter into any inquiry reſpecting the actual interference of the Jeſuits in the various conſpiracies, both in England and France, which they are accuſed of having promoted. They have, however, always been ſo

[1] Duke of Guiſe.

ready

ready to juſtify the conduct of thoſe wretched fanatics who were concerned in them, that they muſt at leaſt be conſidered in the light of acceſſories after the fact. See Anti-Cotton, p. 86, 87. The principles, by which the conſpiracy of September 1758, againſt the King of Portugal, is ſaid to have been excited, are perfectly characteriſtic of the Society. "L'on ne ceſſoit d'y poſer en principe, qu'il ſeroit fort utile que ſa Majeſté ceſsât de vivre," &c. &c. Sentence pronounced Jan. 12, 1759, on the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marchioneſs de Tavora, and others. Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. vol. i. 220 [m].

The verſatile ſyſtem of religion adopted by the Je-

[m] The following extract ſhows the manner in which the Jeſuits of France (men undoubtedly leſs bigotted than the reſt of the order) attempted to evade a queſtion from the Parliament of Paris in 1626, as to their opinions reſpecting the royal prerogative.

"*Le Parlement.* Quant au temporel! parlez-nous franchement, et nous dites ſi vous croyez que le Pape puiſſe excommunier le Roi, affranchir ſes ſujets du ſerment de fidélité, et mettre ſon royaume en proye?

Les Jeſuites. O Meſſieurs, d'excommunier le Roi: lui qui eſt le fils ainé de l'Egliſe, ſe donnera bien de garde de rien faire qui oblige le Pape à cela.

Le Parlem. Mais voſtre Général, qui a approuvé ce livre, tient pour infaillible ce que deſſus: Eſtes vous de différente croyance?

Les Jeſ. Meſſieurs, lui qui eſt à Rome ne peut faire autrement que d'approuver ce que la cour de Rome approuve.

Le Parlem. Et voſtre croyance?

Les Jeſ. Elle eſt toute contraire.

Le Parlem. Et, ſi vous etiez à Rome, que feriez vous?

Les Jeſ. Nous ferions comme ceux qui y ſont."

Articles des Demandes de Meſſieurs du Parlement, Merc. Jeſ. i. 889.

ſuits, (" pia et religioſa calliditas," Im. primi Sæculi 9. Provinciales, p. 154.) is not leſs remarkable than the looſeneſs of their morals. " L'on peut dépoſer le perſonnage de Chrétien, diſent ouvertement les Jeſuites." Reflexions ſimples et naturelles ſur ce qui ſe paſſe aujourd'hui dans l'Egliſe, par l'Auteur du Parallele, Amſt. 1731. p. 23. " Contrition," they ſay, " is ſo little neceſſary to a communicant, that on the contrary it is prejudicial, ſince, effacing all ſins by itſelf, 'elle ne laiſſeroit rien à faire au ſacrement." Lettres Prov. p. 168. Eſcobar, Sirmond, and others, diſcuſſed particularly the queſtion, when and how often it is neceſſary to feel the love of God, and reſolved it " de façon que (voyez la bonté de Dieu) il ne nous eſt pas tant commandé de l'aimer, que de ne le point haïr." " Vous y verrez donc, que cette diſpenſe de l'obligation *facheuſe* d'aimer Dieu eſt le privilege de la loi Evangélique par deſſus la Judaïque." Ibid. 169. 171.

The whole caſuiſtry of the order is ſufficiently, and it is needleſs to ſay how pointedly, unfolded in the inimitable Letters of a Provincial. Voltaire, indeed, after juſtly praiſing the ability with which theſe letters are written, proceeds to ſay: " It is true, that the whole work reſts on a falſe foundation, the extravagant opinions of certain Spaniſh and Flemiſh Jeſuits being adroitly attributed in it to the whole Society." Siécle de L. XIV. vol. ii. p. 232. It would have been more correct to have ſtated, that a great number of individual Jeſuits, and particularly the natives of France, did not believe nor teach thoſe profligate doctrines which are expoſed by Paſcal. To the Society, as a body, they moſt undoubtedly belong, as Paſcal him-

himſelf has proved. See alſo the Hiſtoire de Port Royal, par J. Racine, p. 154. Oeuvres, vol. i. and the Seconde Requête de l'Univerſité de Paris, préſentée au Parlement en 1644, cited in the Preface to Les Jeſuites criminels de Leze Majeſté, à la Haye, 1759. Pref. p. ix. &c. Voltaire is very generally inclined to repreſent all controverſies between Chriſtians as frivolous.

XIX.

For a brief account of the riſe and progreſs of the Jeſuits, ſee Thuanus, xxxvii. 8. The order was inſtituted in 1540. Loyola had then nine aſſociates. The college at Coimbra in Portugal was founded in 1541: in the following year that of Goa, and an eſtabliſhment at Liſbon [n]. Lainés had the honour, about the ſame time, of negotiating a marriage between the Princeſs Mary of Portugal, and Philip II. of Spain. Salmeron and Brouet were appointed Papal nuncios to Scotland and Ireland in 1541. Le Jay, Le Fêvre, and Bobadilla were ſent to Ratiſbon, as the theologians of the Pope, in 1542 [o].

In 1545, Salmeron and Lainés were deputed to the Council of Trent [p], where they are ſaid to have

[n] Benard, i. 78. Dom Inigo, book iv.

[o] Benard, i. p. 55, 56, 77.

[p] As Papal theologians. Benard, i. p. 81, 82. Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. iv. 90. Lainés, however, does not ſeem to have been ſo immediately in the ſervice of the Pope, as of the Cardinal de Ferrara; (P. Paolo, Hiſtoire du Concile de Trent, par Courayer, ii. 108, 9.) nor does his name occur in the Hiſtory of the Council, till the Colloquy of Poiſſy in 1561. The name of Salmeron does not occur ſo ſoon. See the Index. Ibid.

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conducted themſelves with an arrogance, which ill became the recent origin of their Society. In 1546, the Jeſuit Rodriguez was choſen preceptor to one of the ſons of the King of Portugal (Benard, i. 89.); and Miron, a few years afterwards, was ſeverely reproved by Loyola for declining the poſt of confeſſor to that monarch. On this occaſion, the founder of the order inſtructed its inferior members to inſinuate themſelves into all courts, and into the confidence of all ſovereigns. (Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, p. 460. et ſuiv. Benard, i. 136, 137.) On the death of Loyola in 1556, the number of the religious of this perſuaſion amounted to upwards of 1000. (Benard, ibid. 197.) Their number in 1608. was eſtimated at 10,581: in 1710, at 19,998. (Dom Inigo, ii. 148.)

In England, not to mention the numerous conſpiracies againſt the Proteſtant intereſt, in which the Jeſuits are ſuſpected of having been involved, they eagerly availed themſelves of the ſhort triumph of Roman Catholiciſm, under the bigotted Mary, to endeavour to procure an eſtabliſhment. They never forgave the injury, which they conſidered themſelves as having received from that Princeſs, in being refuſed inſtitution to the monaſteries, which had been ſuppreſſed by Henry VIII. and which Mary wiſhed, but dared not venture, to reſtore to the Church. (Benard, i. 183.) As it uſually happens, that an ill-regulated zeal is injurious to the cauſe in which it is employed, ſo nothing, perhaps, has contributed more immediately to the declenſion of the Popiſh party in England, than jealouſy of theſe eccleſiaſtics; who ever ſince the Revolution have been confeſſedly unpopular in this country, even among the Roman Catholics.

lics. Symptoms of ſuch unpopularity began to appear at an earlier period. (Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. i. 265. p. 3. Amſt. 1761.)

An account of the alternate diſaſters and triumphs of the Jeſuits in France would of itſelf be ſufficient to fill a volume. The early and continued oppoſition of the Sorbonne to their admiſſion both into the kingdom in general, and into the Univerſity of Paris in particular, does honour to the penetration of that body of divines; an honour, which, as the Sorbonne is ſo rarely named *honoris cauſa*, it would in the preſent inſtance be ſcarcely equitable to withhold. See the Concluſions de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, de l'an 1554. Merc. Jeſ. i. 320. "Denique in magnum populi gravamen, religionis monaſticæ honeſtatem violare videtur (hæc ſocietas), ſtudioſum pium et perneceſſarium virtutum abſtinentiarum cæremoniarum et auſteritatis enervat exercitium, imo occaſionem dat libere apoſtatandi ab aliis religionibus, debitam ordinariis obedientiam et ſubjectionem ſubtrahit, Dominos tam temporales quam eccleſiaſticos ſuis juribus injuſte privat, perturbationem in utraque politia, multas in populo querelas, multas lites, diſſidia, contentiones, æmulationes, variaque ſchiſmata inducit. Itaque, his omnibus atque aliis diligenter examinatis, et perpenſis, hæc ſocietas videtur in negotio fidei periculoſa, pacis Eccleſiæ perturbativa, monaſticæ religionis everſiva, et magis in deſtructionem quam in ædificationem." Ibid. ad finem.

Notwithſtanding all obſtacles, the Jeſuits at length inſinuated themſelves into all the provinces of the kingdom, and ſoon became ſo powerful, that, though they had been the zealots of the league, though they were

were known to be enemies to the monarch's perſon, and were ſuſpected of having deſigns upon his life, they extorted from Henry IV. a recognition of their order. The reaſons are well known, which were given by that prince to his miniſter, for having made ſo imprudent a conceſſion [q].

By civil war they introduced themſelves into Poland, a country which continued for a long time to be haraſſed by their intrigues [r]. Their character here was ſo notorious, that a Moſcovite uſurper did not heſitate to apply to them for aſſiſtance, which was granted [s].

In Portugal they not only attempted to engroſs to themſelves the whole adminiſtration of the government, but are ſaid alſo to have ſolicited the King, that it might be enacted, "Que nul à l'avenir ne peuſt eſtre Roy de Portugal, s'il n'étoit Jeſuite, et eſleu par leur ordre, tout ainſi que dans Rome le Pape par le College des Cardinaux." Paſquier, Cat. des Jeſ. livre iii. chap. 16. The avowal is contained in a ſtate paper of the court of Portugal, dated Feb. 10, 1758, "que, pendant bien des années, on n'a oſé exécuter aucun ordre royal, qui fût capable de cauſer le moindre déplaiſir à ces Peres." Inſtruction à François de Almada de Mendonza, Recueil des Décrets, &c. i. p. 133. Though the court of Portugal, from the time that it reſolved on the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, is certainly not more free than any of their pri-

[q] Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. i. 175. 310. Benard, i. 169. ii. 266. Bouhours, 420. Les Jeſuites Criminels, pref. p. viii. Sully's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 279. Engl. Tr. by Mrs. Lennox, 4to.

[r] Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſ. i. 150, 151. ii. 79, &c.

[s] Ibid. i. 248, 9.

vate

vate enemies from the imputation of having calumniated them, it would yet ſcarcely have made ſo humiliating a confeſſion, if it had not been founded in truth.

The conduct of the Jeſuits towards the ſmaller but independent ſtates and corporations of Europe was altogether guided by the ſame principles. Their controverſy with the Univerſity of Louvain may be conſidered in ſome reſpects as an epitome of their general hiſtory. Many reſtrictions were impoſed on them when at length permitted to eſtabliſh a college, in 1560. "Il falut, dit leur hiſtorien, que leur amis les priaſſent d'accepter cet établiſſement, alléguant qu'ils ſeroient maitres par la ſuite d'obſerver ou d'enfreindre ces conditions." Benard, ii. 9.

At Venice they ſeem at firſt to have met with but little oppoſition. Their intriguing ſpirit, however, was not likely to harmonize for any long period with the jealouſy of a ſuſpicious government. In the year 1560, the Venetian ſenators deliberated on their expulſion. This blow was for the time ſuſpended; but the wives of ſenators, by ſome of whom it was ſuſpected that ſecrets of ſtate had been revealed, were forbidden for the future to apply to Jeſuit confeſſors. Benard, ii. 4. In 1606, on the diſpute between the Venetians and Paul V. (a queſtion between the rights of ſovereigns and the privileges of eccleſiaſtics, in which the cauſe of the republic was defended by the illuſtrious Father Paul,) the intereſts of the Pope were naturally eſpouſed by the Jeſuits. In conſequence of their conduct on this occaſion, they were baniſhed from the ſtates of Venice. (Thuani Hiſt. lib. 137.) Their baniſhment continued for the ſpace of fifty years,

and

and the manner in which they obtained a revocation of the ſentence deſerves to be related. The following account of it is given by the Abbé Racine in the Abrégé de l'Hiſtoire Eccléſiaſtique.

" Alexander VII. at the commencement of the year 1657, gave a ſignal proof of his attachment to the Jeſuits. Theſe fathers had been baniſhed for ever from the ſtate of Venice, and the King of France had ſolicited fruitleſsly on their behalf. The Pope charged his nuncio to intercede with the Senate for their re-eſtabliſhment, and to act on this occaſion in concert with the French ambaſſador, who was urgently to demand the ſame favour in the name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. The votes of the Senate were equally divided when the queſtion was brought under diſcuſſion. The one party was for adhering to the ſolemn decree, by which the Jeſuits had been expelled; the other thought it politic to relax that ſevere injunction, in a caſe where the important end might be anſwered of obliging the Pope and the King of France.

" But for the particular circumſtances, however, in which Venice was then ſituated, the Jeſuits, notwithſtanding their great credit in moſt of the courts of Europe, would never have obtained reſtoration. Happily for them, the republic was engaged in the war of Candia. It had need of the Pope's pecuniary aſſiſtance, and of his permiſſion to impoſe certain taxes on the Clergy. The Chigis (the Pope's nephews) were ſtill more in want of money, to build their palaces, and eſtabliſh their fortunes. In theſe reciprocal neceſſities, the Jeſuits made an offer to his Holineſs of a conſiderable ſum of money. They ſuggeſted

geſted to him, that it would be extremely acceptable either to his own family, or to the Venetians; that their ſociety demanded nothing from him in return, but that he ſhould endeavour to prevail on the republic to reſcind the decree of baniſhment, which it had pronounced againſt them, and to receive them again into its boſom; that, in common with the other religious orders, they might there offer up prayers to God for the proſperity of the ſtate, and a ſucceſsful cloſe to that diſaſtrous war with which it was afflicted.

"The Pope could not reſiſt a requeſt ſo adroitly expreſſed, and ſo powerfully ſupported. The Venetians, ſeeing that he demanded with ſo much urgency the recal of the Jeſuits, and that all the aſſiſtance to be expected from him depended on this condition, at length conſented to it; and each party obtained its object: Venice, the aſſiſtance of which it was in need; the Jeſuits, their reſtoration to the territory of the republic; and the Pope, a ſum which would appear incredible, if we did not know, that thoſe from whom it proceeded had the means of making ſuch a donation, even without much inconvenience." Hiſt. Gen. des Jeſuites, i. 307.

On this re-eſtabliſhment, the Jeſuits were ſubjected to humiliating conditions; which, probably, were very inaccurately obſerved, but which marked the general diſtruſt entertained of them by the Venetians.

XX.

Xavier, on his arrival at Goa, found it a very general practice among the Portugueſe, to indulge in con-

concubinage with Aſiatic women. His biographer expatiates with much approbation on the delicacy of his fineſſe in contriving to put a ſtop to this irregularity.

" Ergo Xaverius tanto huic malo obviam eundum ratus, ſummm ope expedire illorum animos cœpit. Primum igitur eos omni obſequio demereri. Inde, ut quiſque obvius erat, hilari vultu eum rogare, ut ſacerdotem cibi egentem convivio acciperet familiari. Annuente illo, menſæ pariter accumbebat. Super cœnam vel a cœna orabat hoſpitem, ſuos ut liberos accerſi juberet. Mox patris juſſu prodibant parvi filii, quos Franciſcus manibus ſublatos collo ſuo admovebat, grates Deo agens, qui tales ei pueros ſpem ſtirpis dediſſet: et ſimul honeſtam eis ſanctamque vitam expoſcebat precibus. Subinde (temeritas in alio foret, quod illius ſanctitas facile ſuſtinebat) puerorum matrem acciri deſiderabat; accitam benigne alloqui, hoſpiti ejus commendare formam, nuptiis viam muniens. Eam utique egregia eſſe indole ac ſpecie, ut Luſitana poſſet videri: liberos ex ea genitos haud dubie Luſitano homine dignos. Quæ res igitur connubium moraretur? Quam conjugem expeteret illa meliorem? Proinde ne cunctaretur filiorum famæ, talis fœminæ pudori conſulere. Nec ſalubria dicta in irritum cadebant. Franciſci vox et auctoritas haud ægre eos impellebat ad pellices ſibi matrimonio jungendas, ipſomet inſpectante. Quod ſi quem nactus eſſet, qui ex Inda muliere ac deformi filios matri ſimiles haberet, indignabundus exclamabat: Deus bone, quid hoc eſt monſtri? Diabolum domi alis? cum iſto portento conſuetudinem habes? hinc ſuſcipere liberos potes? me audi—iſtud monſtrum ac

pro-

prodigium extemplo tectis ejice; et te dignam conjugem quære: ita ille, amandata pellice, ducebat uxorem. Nec ſinebat Franciſcus, quantum in ipſo erat, nigras ancillas a Luſitanis in matrimonium duci, ſed albas, minimeque deformes; ut ſcilicet adulteriis abſtinerent, ſua quiſque uxore contenti." Turſ. vit. Xav. ii. 3.

Other enterprizes of this illuſtrious miſſionary were directed not leſs immediately to promote the temporal power of Portugal, than the eccleſiaſtical ſovereignty of Rome. See Benard, i. 89. 112. and the Hiſtory of the Riſe and Fall of the Portugueze Empire in the Eaſt, prefixed to Mickle's tranſlation of the Luſiad, p. cxix. 4to. 1778.

XXI.

I have been ſomewhat at a loſs in what manner to tranſlate the terms *cartouches*, *cartons*, *tableaux*, and *tablettes*, which, for want of a particular deſcription, I have rendered by the very indefinite word *tablet*. Since they probably reſembled in form the ornaments which ſometimes have been ſubſtituted in their place, a notion of them may, perhaps, be derived from the following paſſage in the Suite des Lettres Edifiantes, which deſcribes the latter. "Chaque famille tient affiché, dans le lieu le plus apparent de la ſalle où elle reçoit les hôtes, une grande feuille de papier coloré, ſur laquelle eſt écrit en gros caracteres: 'Eſprit, vrai maître, Créateur du ciel, de la terre, des hommes, et de toutes choſes.' Cette tablette eſt dans la province le ſigne conſacré de la religion Chrétienne. Aux côtés de la tablette, et aux murailles collatérales de la ſalle, on voit ſur de longues feuilles de papier

coloré des ſentences corréſpondantes de la religion, on voit auſſi ſouvent la croix tracée ſur les portes mêmes. Ceci tient lieu d'un ornement uſité dans le pays, qui, chez les païens, eſt preſque tout idolâtre et ſuperſtitieux." Letter of M. Dufreſſe, from China, dated in 1793.

The decidedly religious nature of theſe ceremonies may be collected, alſo, from a letter of the ſame miſſionary, p. 242. "Quelques païens s'autoriſant de l'édit, et ſe prévalant de la foibleſſe d'une famille, où il n'y avoit que deux femmes et de petits enfans, avoient arraché la tablette Chrétienne, et affiché la païenne." p. 208. In Tonquin, a country, the manners of which ſeem to have been very ſimilar to thoſe of China, the natives were perfectly aware of the difference between adoring the heaven and the Lord of heaven. "(Les Chrétiens) doivent ſe corriger, reprit le ſecrétaire (payen), du culte qu'ils rendent au ſeigneur du ciel, et ſuivre la coutume de Tonquin en adorant le ciel même." Hiſtoire de l'Etabliſſement du Chriſtianiſme dans les Indes Orientales, 2 vol. 12mo. Paris. 1803. vol. ii. p. 76.

XXII.

I. *Letter to the Pope.*

"Moſt Holy Father,

"Your Holineſs is not ignorant how the Jeſuits have laboured to obtain free entrance for preaching of the Goſpel in the empire of China, where all the gates were ſhut againſt foreigners, and how that, after one hundred years ſpent in pains and trouble, they at length obtained permiſſion, by the Emperor's edict, pub-

publicly to preach the law of God through the extent of that vaſt empire. The more this work, which has coſt us ſo much care and fatigue, is for the glory of God, the more are we pierced with grief and ſorrow that we are in danger of ſeeing utterly loſt what has ſo many years been eſtabliſhing.

"For it is evident, that if the Chineſe Chriſtians are forbid the uſe of the ceremonies, which are practiſed in reference to Confucius and their deceaſed parents, the Chriſtian religion runs the hazard, upon the firſt accuſation, of being baniſhed out of the empire of China. Whatever goodneſs the Emperor ſhows us, we cannot expect that he ſhould expoſe himſelf, for our ſakes, to thoſe inconveniencies and all thoſe troubles, which would infallibly happen upon the leaſt innovations upon the cuſtoms of the empire; more eſpecially, being himſelf a foreigner, and only maintained in his poſſeſſion by the Tartars.

"Conſidering, therefore, that theſe ceremonies may be looked upon differently by thoſe that examine them, and that, according to the ſenſe and meaning wherein they are taken by ſome, we are accuſed of openly tolerating idolatry, becauſe we permit what our predeceſſors thought it became them to tolerate as ceremonies merely political, after they had pared off what ſome idolaters had intermixed of ſuperſtitions: ſeeing alſo that every body quoted, in favour of his own opinion, ſeveral texts taken out of the Chineſe books, we deemed it our beſt way to conſult the Emperor, as being well verſed in the Chineſe language, chief of the ſect of the learned, the only judge of the ſenſe of the laws, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, as legiſlator of the empire.

" To which purpoſe, by the favour of two mandarins, we preſented to his imperial Majeſty our explanation of the Chineſe ceremonies, which we ſent to your Holineſs: which after the Emperor had read, he found very juſt, and declared, that it contained the true ſentiments of the empire, and his own: which he confirmed by a decree, which is hereto annexed.

" We take the liberty, moſt holy Father, to preſent to you this decree, and, proſtrate at your Holineſs's feet, implore you graciouſly to receive it. It is a clear declaration upon the matter in queſtion, and the authentic teſtimony of a great prince, who has been all along affectionately kind to all the miſſionaries. We ſhall alſo ſend to your Holineſs ſeveral other teſtimonies, upon the ſame ſubject, of the greateſt lords of the court and the empire; in hopes your Holineſs will give more credit to theſe teſtimonies, than to theirs who are of an opinion contrary to ours: perſons without credit, without capacity, and who have aſſerted ſeveral things upon bare conjectures. And your Holineſs may ſee by this decree of the Emperor, that what they have ſaid touching the ſentiments of this great prince is no way conformable to truth.

" So that if cuſtoms ſo ancient and ſo authorized in the empire, the preſervation of which the Chineſe look upon as one of the moſt important bleſſings of the government, and as one of the principal ſupports of the monarchy, ſhould be overturned, we may preſume to tell your Holineſs, that the courſe of the Goſpel would be in great danger of being ſtopped, and that the Church of China would in as little time

be

be utterly overturned. We could wiſh it were in our power to aboliſh all the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Gentiles, where there is the leaſt appearance of evil or ſuperſtition: but being afraid of ſhutting the gates againſt the Goſpel, and excluding out of heaven a great number of ſouls by an over-rigorous ſeverity, we rather choſe to imitate the conduct of the holy Fathers in the primitive ages of the Church, and to tolerate ſuch ceremonies, as are purely political and civil.

"And now, as we have taken the liberty to repreſent theſe things to your Holineſs, we beſeech you to be fully convinced of our filial obedience and ſubmiſſion to him on whom we look as the viſible head and common Father of the univerſal Church, &c.

Your Holineſs's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervants and ſons in Jeſus Chriſt,

(Signed) PHILIP GRIMALDI,
Rector of the College, and Subſtitute of the Vice-Provincial,

ANTHONY THOMAS,
Superior of the Oriental Houſes."

II. *Explanation of the Chineſe ceremonies, mentioned in the preceding letter, and preſented to the Emperor Kamhi, Nov.* 30, 1700.

"When the Chineſe honour Confucius, they do it to ſhow their reſpect to him, by reaſon of the doctrine which he has left among them. Having embraced this doctrine from him, how can they better pay thoſe honours that are due to him, than by fall-

ing upon their knees, and touching the ground with their heads? This is the true reaſon of thoſe honours, becauſe the whole empire of China looks upon and reveres Confucius as their maſter.

" As for what concerns the libations and other ceremonies paid to their deceaſed parents, they practiſe them as a mark of their love and reſpect to them, and out of that acknowledgement which is due to them, as being the heads of their race and family: nor did they propoſe any other end in ſettling thoſe ceremonies, than to ſhow the full extent of their affection for their kindred and relations.

" As for the little pictures which they ſet up in honour of their anceſtors and kindred, we ſay that the Chineſe do it, not that they believe the ſoul of the dead reſides there, or that they come there to demand any kindneſs; but they ſet meat and preſents before the ſaid little pictures, to the end that by ſhowing their love and reſpect to them, as if they were alive and preſent, they may make appear their conſtant and continued ſorrow for the loſs of the heads of their families.

" As for the ſacrifices which the ancient kings and emperors were wont to offer to heaven, they are ſuch as the Chineſe philoſophers call Kiao Che, the ſacrifices which are made to heaven and earth, by which they ſay that Cham Ti, or the ſovereign lord, is honoured. And for this reaſon it is, that the little pictures before which they offer thoſe ſacrifices bear this inſcription; To the Cham Ti, that is to ſay, to the Sovereign Lord.

" From whence it is evident, that they do not offer [illegible] to the viſible and material heaven, but only

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to the Lord and Creator of heaven and earth. And becauſe that out of fear and reſpect for him they dare not call him by his proper name, they invoke him under the appellations of the Supreme Heaven, the Bountiful Heaven, the Univerſal Heaven."

III. *The Emperor's approbation.*

"That which is contained in this writing is very right, and very conformable to the grand doctrine: to pay our devoirs to heaven, to our lords, to our parents, to our maſters, and our anceſtors, is a law common over all the world. The things that are contained in this writing are very true, and there is nothing to amend."

XXIII.

See the voyage of F. Alexander de Rhodes, quoted IV. Lettre ſur les cérémonies de la Chine, p. 4. Another Jeſuit is cited to the ſame purport, p. 6. Longobardi, Provincial of the Jeſuits in China, aſſembled a council in 1628, in which the uſe of the ceremonies was explicitly condemned. His ſucceſſor, Hurtado, held that they were permiſſible, and, "pour faire ceſſer entierement les ſcrupules," committed to the flames the book which had been written on this queſtion by Longobardi. "J'avoue," obſerves Father Cicé, "qu'il ne fait pas ceſſer les miens." Dom Inigo, i. 321, 322. Cicé, Lettre aux Jeſuites, p. 27. 29. "I am convinced," ſays Father du Paz, (a Dominican writer in the intereſt of the Jeſuits, quoted by Gobien, p. 270.) "that theſe Pagans do not believe in the divine power of their deceaſed anceſtors, or of Confucius; or, at leaſt, that it is not their common opinion." It was then, confeſſedly, the opinion of

ſome, and therefore ought not to have been tolerated. We know alſo, that the ſuperſtitions of China, and of the adjoining countries, both are, and long have been, ſimilar. (Nouvelles des Miſſions Orient. Lond. 1797. p. 196.) In the kingdom of Tonquin, the worſhip of Confucius is prevalent at this day: (ibid. p. 79.) and the recent miſſionaries to that country ſeem to have no doubt, but that the honours and ſacrifices offered by the natives to him, and alſo to their dead anceſtors, are altogether idolatrous. Ibid. 55. 84.

The following extract, which, I believe, gives a faithful account of the Chineſe religion, is taken from the notes to the Hiſtoire Générale de la Chine, &c. traduite par le feu Pere Joſ. A. M. de M. de Mailla, Jeſuite. Revüe par M. le Roux des Hauterayes, Paris, 4to. 1780.

"In ſhort, it appears to me, that the Chineſe, unleſs their ancient religion was different from their preſent, have never recognized any ſubſtance diſtinct from matter: and conſequently, that the names of *Tien* and *Chang Ti*, with thoſe of *Li* and *Tai-kié*, whatever attributes may be annexed to them, are eſſentially different from that of the true God. The worſhip which is rendered by the Chineſe to Confucius, and their anceſtors, though it may have been purely civil in its commencement, is yet no more exempt from the imputation of idolatry, than the worſhip anciently paid to the Roman emperors. That multitude, alſo, of ſubaltern ſpirits, to which the Chineſe ſacrifice, and which they ſuppoſe to preſide over the air, the earth, foreſts, mountains, rivers, &c. has its counterpart in the ſimilar crowd of local deities,

ties, with which the Greeks and Romans had peopled all creation. It is remarkable, that the pontificate during life, and the honours of an apotheoſis after death, were common to the Emperors of China with the Ceſars." Note, p. 303. vol. xi.

XXIV.

The reigning Emperor of China has ſanctioned the enactments of his predeceſſor for the prohibition of Chriſtianity. (Hiſt. Gen. de la Chine, vol. xi. p. 524, &c.) The religion, nevertheleſs, is far from being extirpated in that empire. It ſeems from an edict mentioned ibid. p. 527. that ſome of the Chineſe Chriſtians have perſiſted with great reſolution in the profeſſion of their faith. See pp. 530—536. Ever ſince the perſecution under Yong-tching, compliance with the ſuſpected ceremonies has been forbidden to converts; and it is ſaid, that their ſuperior conſtancy has made ample amends for their diminiſhed number. p. 537. The perſonal merit and diſintereſtedneſs of the Jeſuits, and other miſſionaries now in China, is not to be conteſted; (Staunton's Embaſſy, vol. ii. p. 338. 8vo.) and it is evident, that they have ſhared in that tacit reformation, which has taken place even in the Roman Catholic religion. (Compare the Nouvelles des Miſſions Etrangeres, publiſhed at London in 1797, as a Supplement to the Lettres Edifiantes, with the earlier volumes of that ſeries.)

XXV.

There are at preſent three different ſects of Chriſtians in Malabar.

I. The

I. The St. Thomé or Jacobite Chriſtians, who preſerve entirely the ancient diſcipline, and faith.

II. The Syrian Roman Catholics, whoſe Liturgy is the ſame with the Roman, except that it is tranſlated into the language of the country.

III. The Latin Roman Catholics, who, as their name imports, adopt the Romiſh ſyſtem in language, as well as in rites and doctrines.

The intereſting anecdote is related by Mr. Kerr, that "in ſome of the churches divine ſervice is performed in the Syro-Chaldaic and Latin ritual alternately, by the Papal clergy, and by the prieſts of the Chriſtians of St. Thomé. When the firſt have celebrated maſs, they carry away the images from the church before the others enter." Report to Lord W. Bentinck. I ſubjoin ſome extracts from an Account of the St. Thomé Chriſtians, by F. Wredè, Eſq. (Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. iii. art. 13. p. 364. 4to. Calcutta ed.)

"They (the St. Thomé Chriſtians) at firſt made ſome proſelytes amongſt the Bramins and Nairs, and were on that account much reſpected by the native princes; ſo that even at preſent they conſider themſelves equal in rank to either of the above two caſts. They are, in fact, in much greater eſtimation amongſt the Hindoos, than the new Chriſtians converted by the Portugueze, and moſtly picked up from the loweſt caſt. I have been aſſured by Padre Pavorey, a well informed Ex-Jeſuit now at Palghautcherry, who was a long time as miſſionary among the St. Thomé Chriſtians, that many of them preſerve till now the manners and mode of life of the Bramins, as to clean-

cleanlineſs and abſtaining from animal food; and that even he himſelf had been obliged to adopt the ſame regimen, in order to gain credit among them." pp. 368, 369.

"This reunion of the St. Thomé Chriſtians to the See of Rome (by Menezes) was, however, neither general, nor ſincere and laſting; for a ſhort time after, ſome Maronites, or Neſtorian prieſts, found their way to the mountains of Travancore, where they revived the old doctrines and rites, and ever ſince kept up their communication with the Jacobites, Maronites, and Neſtorians of Syria. At preſent there are thirty-two churches[t] of this deſcription remaining, which are called Schiſmatic Syrians by the Portugueze and Roman clergy. They have a Biſhop, or Mar Thomé, who reſides at Naruatte, about ten miles in land from Porca, and was conſecrated by ſome Jacobite Biſhops, ſent from Antiochia for that purpoſe in the year 1752. He adheres more to the doctrine of Eutyches than of Neſtorius. About eighty-four of the old St. Thomé Churches remain united to the Roman Catholic religion, and are governed by the Archbiſhop of Cranganore, or, as he uſed to ſtile himſelf, the Archbiſhop of the Malabar Chriſtians of the mountains. . . . . Theſe united St. Thomé Chriſtians retain only the peculiarity of the Chaldean language being ſtill uſed in their churches, for which they are furniſhed with the ne-

[t] The number of churches is ſtated by Mr. Kerr at fifty-five. The population, as returned to the reſident, is eſtimated at twenty-three thouſand, but ſuppoſed in reality to be ſeventy or eighty thouſand.

ceſſary

ceſſary books from the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide." pp. 375, 376[u].

"Almoſt all temples belonging to the St. Thomé Chriſtians in the Southern Malabar, of which I had occaſion to obſerve more than forty, were built in the ſame ſtyle, and nearly upon the ſame plan. The façade with little columns, (evidently in imitation of the ſtyle of architecture prevalent in Aſia Minor and Syria; from whence the Chriſtian religion, and with it the model of their temples, appears to have been tranſplanted into Malabar,) being every where the ſame; only that thoſe belonging to the Old Neſtorians, or Schiſmatics, have preſerved their ancient ſimplicity, and that the fronts of ſuch as adopted afterwards the Latin rite, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Roman See, are decorated with ſaints in niches or baſſo relievos, and that ſome of the moſt conſpicuous had an arched choir." pp. 379, 380.

An account of the Malabar Chriſtians may be found alſo in Pennant's Hindoſtan, i. 163, &c.

XXVI.

Among theſe forgeries, that of Jerom Xavier ſeems to be the moſt remarkable. It has been publiſhed with a Latin tranſlation and notes by De Dieu, under the following title: "Hiſtoria Chriſti Perſice conſcripta, ſimulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jeſu. Latine reddita et anim-

[u] The congregations of the Syrian Roman Catholics are reported by Mr. Kerr to conſiſt of ninety thouſand perſons. One only of the three dioceſes of Latin Roman Catholics (that of Verapoli) is ſaid to contain thirty-five thouſand communicants.

adverſionibus

adverſionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu. Lugd. Bat. 1639. 4to."

The author had been prefect of the Portugueze Jeſuit College at Goa, and profeſſes to have compoſed this work in 1602 [x], at the command of Acabar, Emperor of the Moguls at Agra. It ſeems to have been originally written in Portugueze, and tranſlated into Perſian by Xavier's inſtructor in that language [y].

This hiſtory begins with ſtating, that Abgarus, King of Edeſſa, being very deſirous of ſeeing our Saviour, ſent to him an invitation into Macedonia. The meſſenger who carried the invitation was directed, if Chriſt ſhould be unable to undertake the journey, at leaſt to bring back his picture. This attempt to take the portrait of Chriſt is accompanied, as might be expected, with miracle, (pp. 5, 6.) but not with the ſame that is ſaid to have given riſe to the ſtory of St. Veronica. We are told in page 9, that Xavier's reaſon for beginning his hiſtory in this manner is to comply with the requeſt of the Mogul Emperor, "ut quicquid de dictis et factis iſtius Domini in libris noſtris haberemus, in linguam Perſicam transferremus."

The account of the parentage of the Virgin Mary ſeems to have been extracted from the Roman Breviary [z]. Her hiſtory then follows at length, and in ſome reſpects may apparently be traced to the Apocryphal Goſpels. In page 21. is given an account of the decrees of Innocent IV. and Celeſtine IV. re-

[x] P. 13.
[y] De Dieu, Preface.
[z] Idem, Animadv. p. 537.

ſpecting

ſpecting the honours with which ſhe ought to be worſhipped. "Quod ſequitur," ſays De Dieu, "veriſſimum eſt. Salutavit Virgo Elizabetham tanta cum verborum efficacia, ut et Elizabetha obſtupeſceret, et fœtus in utero ſubſiliret. Sed audi quid Mariæ ὑπερφίλος inde colligat. Pag. 49. Hinc liquet, inquit, quam potens ſit benedicta Virgo in beneficiis præſtandis, et quantam gratiam Deus iis reſervet, quos illa inviſit, quibuſque bene precatur, et quos in protectionem ſuam per interceſſionem capit: hinc tantam Chriſtiani ſpem in interceſſione ejus habent, ſummoque ſtudio id agunt ut devotis intenſiſque precibus eam protectricem ſuam habeant." De Dieu, Animadv. pp. 561, 562.

Other reaſoning of the ſame deſcription is animadverted on p. 624.

In the account of the nativity, the hiſtory given by the canonical evangeliſts is uſually adhered to. Then follow ſome very particular illuſtrations and details of the immaculate conception. p. 69. et ſq.

A relation is given, p. 73, of an interview between Auguſtus and a Sibyl on the day of the nativity. The Sibyl ſees and points out to the Emperor a golden circle round the ſun, and in the midſt of it a beautiful virgin with an infant in her arms [a].

We have the following details reſpecting the wiſe men of the Eaſt. "Nomina eorum hæc ſunt: Melchior, Caſpar, et Balthaſar. Poſtquam autem Majeſtas Jeſu Domini noſtri in cœlos aſcendiſſet, et apoſtoli ejus in omnia latera mundi veniſſent, ex duode-

[a] For the probable origin of this fable, ſee De Dieu's Animad-

cim

cim apoſtolis Thomas in terram ipſorum venit, et Evangelium Chriſti prædicavit, omneſque illos tres baptizavit, id eſt aqua ſancta abluit, quemadmodum in Evangelio præceptum eſt. Quumque multi in ea regione ad fidem Dom. Jeſu veniſſent et Chriſtiani facti eſſent, omnes hos tres epiſcopos fecit, id eſt, principes in negotio religionis: ipſi enim regnis ſuis renunciantes, in paupertatem venerunt, ut in ſtatu paupertatis melius ſervirent Regi regum quem in tanta paupertate viderant, quam propter homines et inſtitutionem eorum elegerat. Poſt mortem corpora eorum Conſtantinopolim deportata fuerunt, inde in urbem Mediolánum, inde in urbem Coloniam, et ad hoc uſque tempus ibi ſunt, homineſque ſepulchris ipſorum honorem cuſtodiæ faciunt." pp. 89, 90.

Melchior, Caſpar, et Balthaſar!!! "Baronius ac Barradius, quibus alias fabulæ ſatis ſæpe allubeſcunt, haſce nugas ne recenſere quidem ſunt dignati." De Dieu, 581.

The Hiſtoria Petri, edited in the ſame year, and at the ſame place, and uſually ſubjoined to the Hiſtoria Chriſti, is undoubtedly by the ſame author. Anim-adv. in Hiſt. Petri, p. 108.

The following extract is from De Dieu's Commonefactio ad Lectores, p. 2. "Quod monui de Hiſtoria Chriſti idem nunc moneo de hac hiſtoria S. Petri: nempe authori ejus non ſuffeciſſe ex Actis SS. Apoſtolorum adferre quod de S. Petro ibi ſcriptum fuit, ſed varia allegaſſe, quæ veritati non conſentiunt, et ex ſcriptoribus indignis fide deſumpta fuerunt. Scopus ejus fuit oſtendere S. Petro ſupra omnes Apoſtolos principatum obtigiſſe, et in urbe Roma vicarium Chriſti egiſſe." Some notices on this ſubject may be

be found in Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 564, 565. ed. Hamburgi 1731. et Cod. Apoc. Novi Teſtamenti, p. 828. ed. Hamburg. 1703.

" Agreeable to which I have heard other of their Catholikes deliver, that it hath beene heretofore very ſeriouſly conſulted among them, to have cenſured by ſome meanes and reformed the writings of St. Paul." Sir Ed. Sandys's Europæ Speculum, p. 116. London, 1635. See the context, and Law's Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion, p. 263. note *: but it ſeems doubtful whether the learned biſhop be altogether warranted in ſuppoſing the Jeſuits to be alluded to in this declaration, though their name is mentioned in a preceding ſentence.

XXVII.

It is obſervable, that as, on the one hand, the Romiſh miſſionaries to India have compromiſed, from motives of indirect policy, the moſt eſſential doctrines of Chriſtianity; ſo, on the other, they have often expoſed its progreſs to unneceſſary difficulties, by adhering ſtrictly to the indifferent or ſuperſtitious practices of their church. (Norbert, i. 118.) Sometimes they have ſacrificed truth to policy, and ſometimes policy itſelf to error. During the many perſecutions which Chriſtianity underwent in Tonquin, a diligent ſearch was often inſtituted for books or ſymbols of the religion, and their poſſeſſion was ſeverely puniſhed. Much labour and ingenuity was therefore neceſſary to conceal them, and it might, conſequently, have been expected, that the miſſionaries would have ſtudied to render their ceremonial as little cumberſome as poſſible. They ſeem, on the contrary, to have

have thought it indiſpenſable to preſerve, not the books only of their religion, but alſo the altars, and the peculiar veſſels uſed for miniſtering at the altar, the pictures, crucifixes, and other ornaments, which were connected with the Romiſh ritual. (Hiſtoire de l'Etabliſſement du Chriſtianiſme des Indes, i. 253, 257, 258. ii. 30, &c. &c.) This, perhaps, was a venial miſtake. The doctrine of the eternal damnation of all perſons who are not Chriſtians muſt have been productive of more ſerious miſchief. The filial reverence, which is characteriſtic of the natives of the Eaſt, muſt, as Loubere has well obſerved, oppoſe powerfully their belief of any religion, which teaches that their parents are included in ſo dreadful an anathema. (Siam, i. 428.) It is to be remarked, alſo, that the Indian convert has uſually been regarded with contempt by the miſſionaries, in the ſame manner as the Mooriſh proſelyte by the old Chriſtians of Spain; and that immediately on converſion he became ſubject to the power of the Inquiſition. In ſuch circumſtances, it cannot be expected that many perſons ſhould relinquiſh the faith of their anceſtors for a religion, in which the ſacrifice of all their natural connections and private comfort was not in any degree repaid, even with that conſideration and reſpect among their new brethren, which might equitably have been hoped for. (See La Croze, pp. 524, 525.)

We muſt allow, that, of late years, both the zeal of the Roman Catholic miſſionaries in India has been entirely diſintereſted, and their conduct comparatively unexceptionable. It appears from the Nouvelles des Miſſions Orientales, that they have been

long attempting to form a national clergy in Tonquin. (p. 132.) They now put the Scriptures into the hands of their converts, (ibid. p. 11.) which was not formerly the caſe (Millar, ii. 263.); and it is certain, that they are guilty of no compliance with the Chineſe idolatries of the heaven, and of Confucius. (See Appendix XXIV.) Their judgment, however, is ſtill very far from being correct. Many inſtances of their credulity are to be found in the work above cited. (pp. 150—152. 224. &c.) They profeſs to have afforded an aſylum to women, whoſe religious zeal had induced them to quit their huſbands or relations (p. 96.): and boaſt of having expelled the prieſts of idolatry by force, and of having burned or deſtroyed their temples. (p. 15.)

XXVIII.

The efforts made by the Portugueze to eſtabliſh the ſupremacy of Rome among the Chriſtians of Abyſſinia, may be compared with their proceedings in Malabar. Were ſuch a compariſon to be purſued minutely, it might be applied to illuſtrate in a ſtriking manner that modified ſimilarity of reſults, which is produced by the ſame principles in different countries and varied circumſtances. The Abyſſinian as well as the Malabrian Chriſtians poſſeſſed a creed far leſs exceptionable than that of Papal Rome. They rejected tranſubſtantiation, and adoration of the conſecrated bread; they permitted their prieſts to marry; and held the Scriptures to be the perfect rule of faith[b].

[b] Ludolf. Hiſt. Æth. l. iii. cap. 7. fol. Francof. 1681. Millar, Prop. of Chriſtianity, ii. 189. Geddes, Ch. Hiſt. of Ethiopia, p. 31.

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Bermudez, a Spaniſh Eccleſiaſtic, went into Abyſſinia in the year 1520. He was in 1525 appointed patriarch of that country by the Emperor Onandinguel, whom ſome writers name David, and who, it is probable, was willing to admit the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy of Rome, becauſe it was the means of procuring military aid from Portugal[c]. Bermudez, on his promotion, undertook a journey to Rome, that he might perform homage to the Pope; and, returning by way of Liſbon and Goa, conducted an intrepid body of Portugueze adventurers into Abyſſinia[d]. The Emperor, however, was dead, and his ſon and ſucceſſor unwilling to acknowledge either the Pope or a Popiſh patriarch. The zeal of the Papiſt is, indeed, much more remarkable than that of the Chriſtian, in the whole policy of Bermudez. "A great nation," ſays he to the Portugueze, "cannot be cleanſed of all the cockle and tares which the devill ſoweth in it: even as a field cannot be weeded of all the weeds and thornes that grow in it: for if we ſeeke to weed them cleane, we ſhall alſo pull up the wheate among the weeds, as Chriſt ſaith in the Goſpell. It is enough to do now the principall, which

[c] The Emperors of Japan, though, probably, not at all deſirous of being viſited by the armies of Europe, were not more diſintereſted in their encouragement of Chriſtianity. "Comme ces nouveaux apôtres ne marchoient plus qu'à la ſuite de quelque flotte Portugaiſe, les rois de ce païs voulant faire fleurir le commerce dans leurs états, et y attirer les Européens, ſe faiſoient bâtiſer à l'envie les uns des autres," &c. Benard, ii. p. 61.

[d] Bermudez, chap. i. Engl. Tr. Purchas, Pilgrimes, 2d part, ed. Lond. 1625. Book VII. chap. vii. p. 1149, &c. Le Grand, Diſſertations, Diſſ. ix. p. 325. Engl. Tr. 8vo. 1735.

is the obedience and uniting of the holy mother church: this is the fountaine of all the reſt, from hence depend all the other circumſtances." Purchas, chap. iii. pp. 1157, 1158.

"I ſaid unto him againe," relates our author, at the cloſe of an ineffectual conference with the young monarch, "that he lyed, for as much as I was no Arrian, neither had foure gods: but ſeeing he would not obey the holy father, that I held him for excommunicate and accurſed, and that I would ſtay no longer, nor ſpeake with him; and with this I roſe to goe away: and hee anſwered me, that I was the excommunicate, and not hee.

"From thence, without any more ſpeaking to him, I went to the Portugals, which ſtood without the tent, and told them what paſſed, and how the king would not obey the Romane Church, but that hee was an hereticke, like Neſtorius and Dioſcorus: therefore I commanded them, in vertue of obedience, and under paine of excommunication of my part, and in behalfe of the King of Portugall, (whoſe authoritie I had for it,) under paine of capitall crime, in no wiſe they ſhould obey that king, nor follow him, nor doe any thing in his favour. Alphonſus Caldeyra and all the reſt ſaid, that their fathers and grandfathers were never rebels to the Church of Rome nor to their king, neither would they be: therefore that I had no need to lay an excommunication upon them, but that I ſhould ſuſpend it; for they without it would do all that I ſhould command, as obedient children." Ibid. 1158.

A ſimilar occurrence is related in chap. iv. "There is nothing to be done in theſe miſſions," ſays the Jeſuit

ſurt Tellez, "without the aid of the military[e];" and, in truth, it is apparent that the ſoldiers and the miſſionaries of Portugal advanced in their reſpective progreſſes throughout Abyſſinia with nearly equal ſteps, and reciprocal aſſiſtance. Bermudez, addreſſing Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, declares, "For your highneſſe may believe, that the matters of that empire were in ſuch eſtate, that if that ſmall number of Portugals had been maintained with ſupplies of men, it might have gotten ſuch a poſſeſſion and authoritie, that King Gradeus, either with his will or without it, would have obeyed the holy mother church[f]."

After thirty years of laborious exertion, Bermudez returned to Portugal; but not till a miſſion to Abyſſinia had been undertaken under the auſpices of the Jeſuits. Nugnez Baretto had been conſecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia by Pope Julius III. and commenced his voyage to that country, carrying with him, together with his credentials from the Holy See, a letter from Ignatius Loyola to the Emperor Claudius, or Gradéus[g]. He arrived proſperouſly at

[e] Cited, La Croze, Chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie, 8vo. 1739. p. 282. Xavier had made a ſimilar declaration in India. Chriſtianiſme des Indes, p. 529.

[f] Purchas, ibid. 1172. So alſo Father Couplet, (cited, La Croze, Chriſtianiſme des Indes, p. 530. note *b*.) "Quanta etiam Romanæ Eccleſiæ ac ſanctæ Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, uſque ad extremum terræ accedet gloria, præ aliis omnibus Aſiæ miſſionibus, ſi aliquando, uti certe ſperandum eſt, adeo brevi dilatetur per plurimos indigenas ſacerdotes religio Chriſtiana, ut ipſis etiam imperatoribus Sinicis et principibus Ethnicis formidabilis ſit futura credentium multitudo."

[g] La Croze, Ethiopie, p. 271. The letter is given at length by Bouhours, in the Vie de St. Ignace, p. 504.

Goa, from which place, that the apoſtolical dignity with which he was inveſted might not be expoſed to any unbecoming reception, he ſent three miſſionaries before him into Abyſſinia, to obſerve the ſituation of affairs [h]. The zeal of theſe ſanguine Jeſuits was very indiſcreet, and the chief import of their conferences with the Abyſſinians was the aſſertion of the Pope's ſupremacy. "Diverſa colloquia habita fuerunt, quorum ſumma ex parte Gonçali plerumque eo recidebant. Pontificem Romanum in terra Chriſti vicarium, omnium Chriſtianorum caput eſſe: ſi Habeſſini ſalutem aſſequi vellent, iterum cum ſuo legitimo capite conjungerent, ipſum enim Chriſtum voce ſua aſſeruiſſe unum tantum in Eccleſia eſſe ovile, et unum tantum paſtorem [i]."

This doctrine does not ſeem to have been very palatable, and Baretto died at Goa in 1562, before it was thought prudent that he ſhould embark for Afri-

[h] Benard, i. 187, 188.

[i] Ludolf. l. iii. c. 9. The memorable diſcourſe of Valverde to Arabalipa ſeems to have aſſumed a ſtill greater degree of arrogance. This Spaniard declared, that Jeſus, after his crucifixion, "monta au ciel, laiſſant St. Pierre à ſa place pour être ſon Vicaire, et après lui ſes ſucceſſeurs qui demeurent à Rome, et que les Chrétiens appellent Papes. Il ajouta que c'étoient ces ſucceſſeurs de St. Pierre qui avoient partagé tous les païs du monde aux rois et aux princes Chrétiens, donnans à chacun la charge d'en conquérir quelque portion: que ce païs du Perou étoient écheu à ſa Majeſté Impériale le Roi Dom Carlos, et que ce grand Monarque avoit envoyé en ſa place le Gouverneur Dom François Pizarre, pour lui faire ſavoir de la part de Dieu et de la ſienne tout ce qu'il venoit de lui dire." Zarate, Hiſtoire de la Découverte et de la Conquête du Perou, Trad. Fr. Amſt. 1700. vol. i. pp. 93, 94. See Robertſon's Hiſt. of America, Vol. I. note xxiii. 4to. and Herrera, I. vii. 14. cited there, and Vol. II. note xxiv.

ca.

ca. Oviedo, his *coadjuteur*, who had already arrived in Abyſſinia, was now appointed patriarch, and reſorted to the moſt vigorous meaſures for the purpoſe of reſtoring the Romiſh intereſt, which he had found reduced to a very low ſtate. He iſſued a ſentence of general excommunication [k], and caballed with a native prince againſt the Emperor's authority [l]. But all theſe efforts proved unavailing; and Oviedo, unable, or, poſſibly, unwilling to leave a country, in which he ſtill may have ſeen many opportunities for intrigue, died at length in great miſery. His death was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the other Jeſuits who had accompanied him, and thus, in the year 1597, the miſſion to Abyſſinia became extinct [m].

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Jeſuits renewed their intercourſe with this country, and revived, with temporary ſucceſs, the arrogant pretenſions of the Romiſh prieſthood. The Sultan Socinios in 1626 took an oath of obedience to the Pope, and the victory thus obtained over the patriarchate of Alexandria was celebrated by the ſucceſsful party with proclamations of triumph, and maſſacres of its opponents [n]. But its triumph was of ſhort duration. Socinios himſelf was compelled to iſſue an edict allowing liberty of belief, and the Romiſh party began gradually to decline, till at length it was finally extinguiſhed [o]. The very idea of ſubmiſſion to the Pope

[k] La Croze, Eth. 276.
[l] Ibid. 279.
[m] Ibid. 285.
[n] Ibid. 300—303. Bruce, vol. ii. p. 351—355. 4to.
[o] La Croze, 315, 320. Bruce, 396.

is now rejected by the Abyſſinians[p], and even the name of Bermudez, whoſe appointment as the ſucceſſor of Abuna Marcos, though apparently regular[q], ſeems to be conſidered as vitiated by his conformity to Rome, is paſſed over without notice in their liſt of patriarchs.

"In Diptycho Æthiopico ſequentes recenſentur Patriarchæ.

Abbuna Abba Matthæus.

. . . . .

. . . . .

. . . . .

nulla ratione habita Johannis Bermudis, quem Papa Romanus Patriarcham Alexandriæ et Æthiopiæ ſimul creatum in Habeſſiniam miſerat[r].

XXIX.

A ſlight exception is recorded in the Hiſtoire du Paraguay ſous les Jeſuites, with this reaſon aſſigned for it by the Provincial of the order; "parceque ce ſont des choſes ſur leſquelles on ne gene pas même les eſclaves." Ordonnances et Lettres des PP. Généraux et Provinciaux, cited vol. i. pp. 113, 114. I have in vain endeavoured to diſcover what work it is, and of what authority, which under this title is very commonly referred to by Echavarri, with paginal references to diſtinct volumes. Some of the paſſages cited from it have the internal marks of authenticity, but others are of a very doubtful appearance; the following for example. "Dans une aſſemblée tenue

[p] Bruce, book v. chap. 12.

[q] Bermudez, chap. i.

[r] Ludolf. iii. 7.

à cet

à cet effet, il a été ordonné, quant aux troupes chargées d'enlever les beſtiaux des Vacheries Eſpagnoles ſur la côte de Rio de la Plata, qu'il y ſoit envoyé au moins ſix cens hommes avec un nombre de chevaux convenable; que tous ſoient armés et qu'ils aient à leur tête un Pere intelligent et ſage qui les commande; et il ſera à propos qu'ils aient avec eux quelques Guanoas Chrétiens qui parlent aux infideles de leur nation, et leur diſent que les Eſpagnols et les Portugais ſont dans le deſſein de détruire toutes les Vacheries; et que, ces Vacheries une fois détruites, ils n'auront plus de viande de bœuf à manger à l'avenir; que c'eſt là une vérité conſtante, et qu'ils ſe donnent bien de garde de ſe ranger du côté des Eſpagnols et des Portugais, ou de leur prêter l'oreille, attendu que ceux-ci ne cherchent qu'à les tromper par leurs préſens d'armes, d'épées, d'habits, et de rubans." Echavarri, pp. 131, 132. See alſo p. 308.

XXX.

" Cependant les Indiens vont avec leurs barques à Buenos Ayres: ils tranſportent les marchandiſes dans les magazins: ils ſe logent dans l'hoſpice: ils vont à l'Egliſe; font un tour dans la ville: obſervent les habillemens, les uſages, et les modes qui leur repugnent, parcequ'ils n'y voient point de conformité avec les leurs: ils reviennent à leurs Peuplades: les autres Indiens accourent à eux, les environnent, et on leur entend dire: les Eſpagnols ne chantent pas le Catéchiſme, les hommes ne ſont point ſéparés des femmes dans l'Egliſe, et il n'y a point d'huiſſiers de Chœur. Ils ne baiſent point la main du Pere; ce n'eſt point lui qui leur donne leur ration ni leur tâche: ils n'ont point

point de vêtemens de coton, et on ne leur donne point les vingt-cinq coups de fouet; chacun va et vient à ſon gré, ſans une permiſſion par écrit du Pere; ils ſe couvrent la tête en ſa preſence, et ils n'ont point peur de lui. Ce rapport ſcandaliſe tous ceux qui l'entendent: ils en concluent que tout ce que les Peres leur ont dit des Eſpagnols eſt vrai, et ils conçoivent pour eux la même haine que l'on a en Eſpagne pour les Maures." Echavarri, i. p. 258, 9.

XXXI.

A treaty was concluded between the kings of Spain and Portugal in 1750, in order to put an amicable end to the diſputes which had long exiſted reſpecting the limits of their American colonies, and to eſtabliſh for the future a natural boundary which ſhould not be liable to be miſtaken[s]. It was agreed,

[s] It is well known, that, by the deciſion of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, all the undiſcovered countries both of the New and the Old World were partitioned between the Spaniards and Portugueze. An imaginary line was drawn round the globe from pole to pole, at the diſtance of a hundred leagues weſt of the Azore Iſlands and Cape Verde, places which ſeem to have been conſidered as in the ſame longitude. All countries yet uncolonized, which were ſituate on the weſtern ſide of this meridian, were aſſigned to the Spaniards, all on the eaſtern to the Portugueze: an aſſignment, which has probably given occaſion to more diſſenſions than it has prevented. The hiſtorians, who have related this memorable inſtance of Romiſh preſumption, have not always been careful to remark, that the limit defined by Alexander was extended to a farther diſtance of two hundred and ſeventy leagues, at the congreſs of Tordeſillas in the following year, by a private agreement between the courts of Portugal and Caſtile. (Herrera, i. 10.) Without this change in the line of demarcation, it could ſcarcely have been ever imagined, even according to

that Portugal ſhould cede to Spain the colony of St. Sacrament, and the entire navigation of the Rio de la Plata; and that Spain, on the other hand, ſhould cede to Portugal the diſtrict of territory, which was bounded by the river Uraguay to the weſt, and by the Ibicuy to the ſouth. Between theſe rivers were ſituate ſeven of the miſſionary ſettlements of the Jeſuits, among the Guaranis Indians [t], which were to be tranſplanted from the left to the right bank of the

to the imperfect geography of former centuries, that the meridional limit agreed upon interſected the territory ſurrounding the Rio de la Plata. Such an error, however, exiſted, and the Portugueze, conſequently, claimed to ſhare in the navigation of that river, and founded the town of St. Sacrament on its northern ſhore, not far below the Spaniſh ſettlement of Buenos Ayres on the ſouthern. Numerous diſſenſions enſued between the coloniſts of the two nations, in conſequence, partly, of the contraband trade carried on from St. Sacrament with the Spaniſh provinces, nominally by the Portugueze, but really by the Engliſh; partly, of that diſputable boundary which muſt ever exiſt, when it is to be determined by the artificial lines which may be delineated upon a map, inſtead of the viſible and permanent diviſions which are elevated or impreſſed by the hand of nature on the globe itſelf. Echavarri, ii. 6, &c.

[t] The number of the miſſionary ſettlements among the Guaranis was thirty-two, containing a population of an hundred thouſand ſouls. Echavarri, i. 36. There is ſome variety in the accounts; ſee Muratori, p. 66. Frezier ſtates the whole number of theſe ſettlements at forty-two, and, with other writers whom I have ſeen, eſtimates them to contain three hundred thouſand families, and to be able to bring into the field within eight days an army of ſixty thouſand men. (Frezier, cited Benard, Diſc. Prelim. pp. 93, 94.) This calculation I cannot but ſuppoſe greatly exaggerated, though for *families* we read *perſons*, as probably was intended.

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Uraguay; the Indians being permitted to carry with them their tranſportable property, and the expences of their removal being defrayed [u].

In relating this arrangement, I am far from wiſhing to defend in any degree the attempt of the government of Spain to expel, for reaſons of ſtate, the peaceful inhabitants of the miſſions from poſſeſſions, which they had long cultivated with their own hands; from a country endeared to them by the memory of their anceſtors, by the habits of affection, and the prejudices of ſuperſtition and ignorance.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that the Jeſuits muſt have viewed with juſt repugnance ſo tyrannical a meaſure. Intereſted with a paternal zeal for the welfare of their Indian proſelytes, they could not willingly ſee them driven from their habitations, to ſubdue the wildneſs of unreclaimed deſerts, and encounter all the hardſhips which new coloniſts, though under the moſt favourable circumſtances, muſt always neceſſarily ſuffer. They conſidered alſo, perhaps juſtly, that this invaſion of their "holy republic" would only be the prelude to other inroads of Spaniſh domination, which would terminate in a reduction of the Indians to the moſt oppreſſive ſlavery, and in the entire extinction of their own authority [x]. Accordingly, on the firſt notice of the treaty

[u] Echavarri, part. ii. livre i. chap. 1. Bougainville, Voyage autour du Monde, 8vo. vol. i. chap. 7.

[x] Echavarri, ii. p. 276. It ſeems in reality, that orders were given in 1756, ſimilar to thoſe iſſued eleven years afterwards, by which the Jeſuits were to be expelled from the miſſions, and ſecular clergy and regulars of other orders eſtabliſhed in their place.

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of limits, they tried every expedient of negotiation or delay to avert the impending blow. Their efforts, however, were in vain. The orders of Spain were peremptory [y].

The commiſſaries, who were ſent from Europe to carry into effect the proviſions of the treaty, bore letters from the General of the Jeſuits, commanding the eccleſiaſtics of that order to pay implicit obedience to the authority of Spain, and, by their influence in the miſſions, to facilitate as much as poſſible the execution of the meaſures which had been determined on. It is however ſuſpected, that ſecret inſtructions were ſent from the General, of a nature totally different from his public diſpatches [z]; and it is not at all improbable, that, though fearful openly to encourage any reſiſtance in Paraguay, he may have ſecretly deſired its independance [a].

Without entering into a particular detail of events, it may be obſerved, that, a pacific execution of the treaty being found impracticable, war was declared againſt the Guaranis Indians in the month of May, 1753, and that in 1754 the Spaniſh and Portugueze

[y] Echavarri, chapp. 2, 3.

[z] Ibid. pp. 56. 67. 79.

[a] It is clear, that the arrival of the orders from Spain to withdraw the ſeven miſſionary ſettlements within the line of demarcation, produced a diviſion among the Jeſuits. Some were ſincerely deſirous to promote, others to oppoſe their execution. This diviſion is plauſibly accounted for by Echavarri, on the ſuppoſition, that the one party had received ſecret intimations of the General's wiſh, and the other only his public letters. It is known that the inferior Jeſuits were not uſually intruſted with the myſterious policy of the order.

armies

armies commenced hoſtilities againſt the miſſions [b]. Bougainville, who had the opportunity of procuring information on the ſpot, relates, that none of the Jeſuits appeared at the head of the Indians during the revolt. It is ſaid, he adds, that thoſe fathers were retained in the villages by force, to exerciſe the ſacerdotal functions [c]. It probably is true, that they appeared not in the field of battle, but there is ſufficient evidence that they ſhared, at leaſt, in directing the operations of the Indian armies. It is, indeed, ſcarcely credible, that a timid people, for whom the Jeſuits were habituated to think and act in the moſt minute particulars, ſhould on a ſudden take up arms without their concurrence, though in defence of their intereſts. The moſt poſitive evidence may likewiſe be alleged from the Ephemerides of Father Thadéo Ennis, a Jeſuit, who was himſelf concerned in no inconſiderable degree in the conduct of the Paraguayan war [d]. This work ſeems to be authentic, and was originally compoſed in Latin, with the intention, it is ſaid, of being ſent to the General of the Jeſuits. It compriſes a journal of the events of the war, from its commencement in 1754, to the month of May, 1756, when the papers of Father Thadéo were ſeized at the capture of the poſt of St. Lorenzo. A French tranſlation is ſubjoined to the work of Echavarri.

After noticing the report, that a Portugueze force had appeared on the frontier of the miſſions, Father Thadéo proceeds thus, almoſt at the commencement

[b] Echavarri, part. ii. livre iii. chap. 2.
[c] Voyage autour du Monde, ubi ſup.
[d] Relation Abrégée, p. 65.

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of the Journal. " Comme je fus appellé de ce côté-là, je partis pour y porter du ſecours avec les gardeurs de troupeaux des terres voiſines; mon intention étoit auſſi que l'armée qui étoit ſortie des peuplades pour aller au-devant des Eſpagnols, ſe trouvât à tems ſur ce lieu, pour que nous pûſſions, par ce moyen, attaquer l'ennemi de tous les côtés à la fois [e]." See alſo p. 369 of the ſame Journal. " Tandis que tous les préparatifs de notre parti ne conſiſtoient que dans des conſeils, et que tous les curés étoient dans le plus grand engourdiſſement, des avis, qu'on recevoit journellement de différens côtés, nous confirmerent la marche de l'ennemi. Enfin un ſeul Curé (le pere Thadée Ennis lui-même) ſortit de cette léthargie, et entreprit d'inſpirer de la vigueur aux Indiens. Il leur repréſenta que ce n'étoit pas le moment d'agir mollement; il leur conſeilla de raſſembler les troupes, et de les faire marcher vers la frontiere, de peur que l'ennemi ne ſe portât dans les campagnes les plus reculées, et par conſéquent les plus éloignées de tout ſecours, et ne les ravageât impunément ſans qu'on fût en état de l'arrêter. ' Ne ſera-t-il pas trop tard,' leur diſoit-il, ' d'aller à la diſtance de cent lieues à la rencontre de l'ennemi, quand il eſt déjà entré dans votre pays? L'ennemi peut pénétrer partout: les Portugais porteront leur camp au milieu de vos habitations, qu'ils ravageront l'une après l'autre; ils vous couperont les vivres, dont nous reſſentons déjà une diſette; en un mot, il vaut toujours mieux prévenir l'ennemi que d'en être prévenu.' Ces raiſons déterminerent enfin les Indiens à envoyer de nouveaux

[e] Ephemerides, p. 218.

couriers

couriers partout pour exciter tous les confédérés à ſe mettre en mouvement."

Numerous other quotations might be made of preciſely ſimilar import. Could any records be procured of the tranſactions of the Jeſuit council, which appears to have held permanent ſittings at Candelaria [f], they might be leſs intereſting to the ſtateſman, but would not, probably, be leſs worthy the attention of a philoſopher, than thoſe of European cabinets.

The campaign of 1754 proved altogether indeciſive; which was owing rather to the indolence of the Spaniſh and Portugueze commanders, than to the reſiſtance oppoſed to them. The year 1755 was not ſignalized by any military operations [g]. In 1756, the combined armies again took the field againſt the Indians, whom they defeated with great ſlaughter [h]. The loſs of the vanquiſhed in killed alone is eſtimated in the Relation Abrégée, publiſhed by order of the court of Portugal, at twelve hundred men. Bougainville ſtates it at upwards of two thouſand. Father Thadéo diminiſhes the number to ſix hundred [i]. The ſubſequent operations of the campaign ſeem fully to have completed the conqueſt, and the miſſions were reduced to accede to whatever terms, or rather ſubmit to whatever regulations, the conquerors might be willing to impoſe [k].

[f] Ephemerides, pp. 339. 372. Echavarri, vol. ii. p. 208.

[g] Echavarri, part. ii. livre iii. chap. 3. Ephemerides, an. 1755.

[h] Echavarri, ibid. pp. 235—241.

[i] Relation Abrégée, p. 60. Bougainville, ubi ſup. Ephemerides, p. 388.

[k] Echavarri, ubi ſup. et livre iv. chap. i. p. 262. Bougainville, ubi ſupra.

No

No farther impediment to the execution of the treaty of limits appeared likely to ariſe, when the exchange of territory propoſed as its object was ſuddenly abandoned, in conſequence of diſagreements between Spain and Portugal, which there ſeems to be ſufficient ground for attributing to the machinations of the Jeſuits[1]. On the rupture of the treaty, the miſſions of Paraguay recurred in all reſpects to their preceding ſtate, and the Jeſuits, of courſe, recovered their former authority.

In the year 1767, however, the court of Spain, determined on the expulſion of the Jeſuits, as well from its American as its European dominions, diſpatched orders to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, to arreſt and ſend priſoners to Europe the Jeſuits of Paraguay. Bougainville, then in the Rio de la Plata on his voyage of diſcovery, was witneſs to the execution of theſe orders, and his relation of the circumſtances with which it was attended is worthy of being conſulted. The Jeſuits every where ſurrendered themſelves without reſiſtance. The preceding war muſt have inſtructed them in the uſeleſſneſs of oppoſition, even though the diſaſtrous fortune, which their order was experiencing in Europe, had not taught them that the empire of Loyola was no more.

The formal adminiſtration of the miſſions has undergone but few alterations ſince the expulſion of the Jeſuits. The eccleſiaſtical offices have been committed to religious of the orders of la Merci, of St. Dominic, and St. Francis, who purſue in moſt reſpects the ſyſtem, but do not poſſeſs the temporal

[1] Echavarri, part. ii. liv. 4. Bougainville, ubi ſup.

authority, of their predeceſſors [m]. "Inſtead of the officers and ſuperintendants being ſelected by the rector only, they are now made ſubordinate to the military, who are appointed by the governor of the province: and, inſtead of being commanded by Indian chiefs, they are ſubjected to a Spaniſh commandant and fiſcal, to whom even the rector is anſwerable for the conduct of his flock [n]." Is it to be hoped, that theſe changes will not be a prelude to the reduction of the inhabitants of theſe miſſions to that ſtate of bitter ſlavery, which is experienced by the other Indians of the Spaniſh colonies?

Bougainville, on the authority of Viana himſelf, the Governor of Monte-Video, relates, that when that officer, who had borne the chief ſhare in conducting the operations of the Paraguayan war, received orders to quit the miſſions, a great number of the Indians, diſcontented with their mode of life, were deſirous to follow him [o]. Bougainville was ſurpriſed at their diſcontent. Surely, however, the deſpotic policy of the Jeſuits is ſufficient to account for it, without ſuppoſing even a ſingle inſtance of particular injury to have occurred. The ſupply of bodily neceſſities, and the abſence of bodily oppreſſion, happily for the welfare of ſociety, is not a ſtate in which mankind will for any long period contentedly acquieſce. The mind naturally looks for ſomething by which it may be intereſted and engaged; nor is it for ever ſatisfied with the pompous ceremonies and protracted artifices of a religious ceremonial. The

[m] Raynal, iii. 187.
[n] Davie's Letters, p. 223.
[o] Bougainville, p. 182.

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exiſtence among the Indians of a deſire to have ſome real employment of their faculties, is manifeſted in a decree of the Provincial of Paraguay, of which the date is not mentioned by the author in whoſe work I find it cited, but which muſt neceſſarily have been prior to the expedition of Viana: "Parceque les Indiens ont donné à connoître dans quelques peuplades l'envie qu'ils avoient de s'introduire dans le gouvernement politique contre l'autorité des Peres [p]." It may be collected, alſo, from the duration of the period being ſhortened, for which the Indians, who were employed in the ſubordinate offices of the miſſions, were permitted to retain their ſtations [q]. The mind, probably, is then moſt ſenſible to mental and political degradation, where the actual ſeverities of oppreſſion are little to be dreaded, or rarely inflicted; as in political inſurrections among people ſubjected to the galling yoke of bodily ſlavery, it has uſually been more the object to change the tyrant, than to remove the tyranny.

XXXII.

The evidence, which was adduced on the proſecutions of the Duke of Aveiro, and others, in 1758, for conſpiracy againſt the life of the King of Portugal, does not ſeem to implicate the Jeſuits; though, indeed, the vindication of their ſociety, compiled on this occaſion by the Jeſuits of Rome, is not leſs unſatisfactory, than the accuſation, which it profeſſes to refute, is unſupported. (See the Recueil des Décrets Apoſt. &c. 2de part. p. 94, &c.) The authors of

[p] Echavarri, i. p. 264. [q] Ibid. i. p. 270.

this performance ſeem to have been unwilling to renounce explicitly the juſtifiableneſs of tyrannicide, (p. 117.) or to relinquiſh the claim of that wretched fanatic, Malagrida, to ſanctity and inſpiration[r]. (p. 121, &c.) This was a continuation of the ancient ſyſtem. Campion, Briant, Oldcorne, and Garnet, who had declared of himſelf, that it was expedient for one man to die for the people, are among the Engliſh ſaints, who are to be found in all the martyrologies of the Jeſuits. Clement and Chaſtel had been ſtrenuouſly juſtified by them in France, and the exploit of the former of theſe aſſaſſins had been compared to thoſe of Judith and Eleazar. Anti-Cotton, pp. 80—90.

XXXIII.

Father de la Valette was ſent to Martinique in 1743, in the capacity of Curé of the ſmall pariſh of Carbet, about a mile diſtant from St. Pierre. In 1747, or 1748, he was nominated Superior or Rector of the Maiſon de la Martinique, and ſoon after Pro-

[r] Malagrida had declared, that the Virgin Mary commanded him to write the life of Antichriſt, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be a ſecond John, but much more explicit than the Evangeliſt. He aſſerted, that there would be three Antichriſts, the laſt of whom would be born at Milan in 1920, and marry the infernal Proſerpine. (Procès Verbal de Condamnation de G. Malagrida, Amſt. 12mo. p. 12. 1762.) He pretended to have worked miracles, (ibid. pp. 18, 19.) and to have had many converſations with dead ſaints, St. Ignatius, St. F. Borgia, St. Bonaventure, St. Philip of Neri, St. Charles Borromée, &c. (ibid. 20.) and that God himſelf had menaced him with rejection from the kingdom of heaven, if he did not write the life of St. Anne, and the treatiſe concerning Antichriſt. (p. 23.)

cureur

cureur Général of the Jeſuit miſſions in the Windward Iſlands.

It is known, that the current value of European ſpecie is conſiderably greater in the Weſt Indies than in Europe. The coin of France, for example, at the period above mentioned, loſt one third of its value on being tranſported from Martinique to the mother country; the crown of ſix livres Tournois being current in the colony for nine livres. Little ſpecie, conſequently, was ſent to France, but remittances were almoſt always converted into the produce of the colony. Even this produce, however, ſtill ſold in France for a leſs ſum than it had originally coſt, in currency, at Martinique. It is obvious, that, in theſe circumſtances, the eſtabliſhment of a regular exchange on more moderate terms between the two countries would prove of great convenience to ſuch perſons in Martinique, as were deſirous of remitting money to France, but were now compelled firſt to convert it into colonial produce, and then wait the chances of a voyage, and of a ſecond ſale. Father la Valette ſeems here to have ſeen a grand opportunity for ſpeculation.

Having made his calculations, he undertook to give bills on France, at long dates of twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-ſix months, for the whole amount of ſums that were paid to him in currency at Martinique. This money, as ſoon as received, he laid out in produce, which he exported to France, and received its value in the coin of Portugal, which had ſome relative advantage in point of Weſt India currency over the French.

For example. La Valette received at Martinique

6000 livres currency; which in France would amount to only 4000. He converted them into ſugar and coffee, which would not, indeed, ſell in France for the ſame nominal ſum which they coſt, but on which, however, no greater loſs than about 20 per cent. would be ſuſtained. Theſe 6000 livres, therefore, would produce 4800 livres in France, which were next converted into the gold coin of Portugal, namely, the johannes, each current in France for about 41 livres, and in Martinique for 66. This ſpecie exported to Martinique would amount to 7725 livres currency, and afford a profit upon the whole ſpeculation of 1725 livres. The whole of this proceſs occupied about four months: but ſuppoſing the returns to be made only twice a year, the bills drawn in the firſt inſtance by La Valette being at the long dates of two or three years, he would make a profit, before the money originally advanced to him became payable, of 116 per cent. in the one inſtance, and 160 in the other[s].

I do not mention theſe circumſtances with the ſame purpoſe, for which they ſeem to have been ſometimes alleged; that of taxing Father la Valette with making an inordinate and uſurious profit. Perhaps the advantage of his ſyſtem may have conſiſted rather in his being able to carry it on without any capital of his own, than in any unuſual profit upon

[s] This calculation is not exactly accurate; but the errors are ſo trifling, that I have not thought it worth while to alter the ſtatement of the Mémoire à conſulter et conſultation pour Jean Lioncy, &c. in which it is found, (ed. 12mo. Paris, 1761. pp. 5, 6.) It ſhould be obſerved, however, that the profit upon the increaſed capital is not taken into conſideration.

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the inveſtments: for it is manifeſt, though it does not ſeem to have been noticed by either party in the legal proceſſes which were inſtituted in France upon this queſtion, that La Valette took upon himſelf all riſks, both from the common accidents of ſhipwreck, and the enemy, and from the periſhable nature of the commodities which he exported. It will be ſeen, indeed, that he calculated ſomewhat too ſanguinely on the ſafety of his equipments.

The commencement of this ſpeculation was very ſucceſsful. The chief correſpondents of La Valette in Europe ſeem to have been the Sieurs Lioncy and Gouffre at Marſeille; and this houſe became at length ſo habituated to his punctuality, that it ſcrupled not accepting his drafts, even before the arrival of the conſignments by which they were to be diſcharged: and this, in ſome inſtances, to the amount of three millions and a half of livres. The flouriſhing ſtate of his buſineſs enabled La Valette to ſet on foot extenſive and lucrative eſtabliſhments both in Martinique, and in the neighbouring iſland of Dominica. He ſurmounted with much addreſs ſeveral difficulties which threatened the moſt fatal conſequences, and at length acquired by his ſucceſs ſo much credit with his order, as to be appointed Viſitor General, and Apoſtolical Prefect of the Society's miſſions in the Windward Iſlands. But the regularity of his intercourſe with Europe was about to be interrupted by a blow, which in its conſequences proved fatal to the exiſtence of the Jeſuits in France.

La Valette had drawn bills on the SS. Lioncy for ſums amounting to more than a million and half of livres, and conſigned to them, at the ſame time, ef-

fects more than ſufficient to cover the ſums for which he had drawn. Theſe bills had been accepted, but the ſhips on which the effects had been embarked were taken by the Engliſh; the war having begun, which was terminated by the peace of Paris in 1763. On the news of this capture arriving in France, the credit of the houſe of Lioncy ſunk immediately. Theſe merchants applied, however, to Father de Sacy, Procureur General at Paris of the miſſions to South America, and even to the General of the Jeſuits himſelf, for aſſiſtance to ſupport their credit. Father de Sacy ſent in return whatever ſums he could raiſe on the emergency, but theſe were very inſufficient. Still it was ſo completely felt, that the credit of the ſociety was involved in the ſupport of the Lioncys, as connected with that of La Valette, that, had not the death of Viſconti, General of the Jeſuits, intervened, and ſix months elapſed before the appointment of his ſucceſſor, Centurioné, there can be no doubt, but that all the reſources of the order would have been employed for that purpoſe. De Sacy, indeed, in the month of February 1756, received from the new General a commiſſion to borrow, in the name of the ſociety, to the amount of half a million of livres, apparently for the expreſs purpoſe of aſſiſting the houſe of Lioncy. This was immediately communicated to the correſpondent of that houſe at Paris, who diſpatched an expreſs with the intelligence to Marſeille. The courier, however, arrived too late. He reached Marſeille on the twenty-ſecond of February, and the Lioncys had become bankrupts on the nineteenth.

Could the Jeſuits by any efforts have prevented this

this exploſion, it probably would not have occurred; but they ſeem, immediately on its arrival, to have abandoned MM. Lioncy to their fate. They had the inſolence to recommend them to God, and to offer up maſſes for their relief, and then applied themſelves to find out new channels, through which the commerce of Martinique might be tranſacted.

Theſe facts, which are taken from the Mémoire à conſulter et conſultation pour Jean Lioncy, &c. printed at Paris in 1761, are either not denied by the Jeſuits, or ſo clearly eſtabliſhed, as not to be ſhaken by their denial. It is manifeſt, alſo, that the General and Procureur General of the order concerned themſelves *officially* in the commerce carried on by Father de la Valette. They aſſumed the power of transferring his agencies, and money due to him on account from one perſon to another: a power, which the merchants, to whom theſe orders were iſſued, did not think themſelves at liberty to queſtion. They had the ſtill farther imprudence to defend the action, which was brought againſt them by the creditors of the SS. Lioncy, to recover the debt which had been incurred by La Valette. This ſuit was decided by the Parliament of Paris, on the eighth of May, 1761, in favour of the plaintiffs, to whom the ſum of 1,502,276 livres was awarded, the full amount of their demand; and 50,000 livres coſts were adjudged to Meſſieurs Lioncy, by way of indemnification for a bankruptcy, of which the conduct of the Jeſuits had been the cauſe. (Plaidoyer contre les Jeſuites, and Ann. Reg. 1761. Chronicle Paris, May 9.)

The circumſtances which have been here related are ſo curious in themſelves, and ſo immediately connected

nected with the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits in France, that I have been unwilling to omit the mention of them. In general, however, it may be obſerved, that I have declined all animadverſion on the commerce of theſe eccleſiaſtics. I have abſtained from this portion of their hiſtory, partly becauſe it would lead into a very wide ſeries of details, and partly becauſe there is, perhaps, no other point on which they have been ſo much calumniated, and where the calumny is ſo difficult to detect.

An account of their commerce in India, and many intereſting particulars connected with this ſubject, may be found in Du Queſne's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, vol. iii. p. 114, &c. ed. Rouen, 1721. cit. Norbert, iii. 89. La Croze ſays, that the revenues derived by the Jeſuits from the Portugueze eſtabliſhments in India were greater than thoſe derived by the King of Portugal from the ſame ſource. (Chriſtianiſme des Indes, p. 337.) For notices on their commerce in Paraguay, ſee Echavarri, vol. i. part. i. liv. 2. Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. i. 108, &c. and 180. Muratori, 185. and a Mémoire Apologetique, inſerted in the ninth volume of the Lettres Edifiantes, p. 187. ed. 1781. Venegas, in the Hiſtory of California, (London, 2 vol. 8vo. 1759. vol. ii. 375.) owns, that the whole commerce of that peninſula is in the hands of the Jeſuits; but adds, that it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, ſince no other Europeans are ſettled there.

It was rumoured, on the ſuppreſſion of the order, that the value of its eſtates and effects in Mexico amounted to three hundred and eighty-five millions of livres, and that the Jeſuits of Peru and the ſouth-

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ern provinces of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies were richer than thoſe of Mexico. (Ann. Reg. 1767. p. 33.) A letter from Don Emanuel d'Amas, viceroy of Peru, to the King of Spain, bearing date the ſixth of September, 1766, ſays, "that the Jeſuit prieſts have a warehouſe in the city of Lima, where moſt of the agents of South America reſide, and whither all ſorts of merchandize are ſent for ſale in that country; and that they have like warehouſes in the other cities, in order to carry on a univerſal, and, indeed, an excluſive commerce: for paying no contribution, and being at very little expence, they find a quick ſale for their goods, and take ready money; leaving only for the lay merchants the debts and failures of thoſe who purchaſe on credit." (Ann. Reg. vol. x. p. 137.) In the Jeſuits' College at Barcelona are ſaid to have been found riches to the amount of twelve millions of crowns. (Ibid. 142.)

But theſe accounts of the wealth of the Jeſuits are manifeſtly exaggerated, and it now ſeems to be admitted, that the treaſures actually found in the colleges of the order, upon its ſuppreſſion, by no means correſponded with that opinion of its immenſe opulence, which had generally prevailed. We may ſuppoſe, indeed, the pecuniary reſources of the ſociety to have been at that time drained, for the vain purpoſe of averting its deſtruction. Some treaſure, alſo, was doubtleſs ſecreted; and, from theſe cauſes, its coffers were then, probably, unuſually empty.

XXXIV.

The Jeſuits had been ſuſpended from preaching and confeſſing in the patriarchate of Liſbon, by an ordi-

ordinance of the Cardinal d'Atalaya, dated June 7, 1758: but it was the attempt on the life of his moſt faithful Majeſty, which was made on the third of September in the ſame year, that proved the immediate cauſe of their expulſion from Portugal. (12me Piece du Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. vol. i. p. 185.) Their property in that country was ſequeſtered, their papers ſeized, and their perſons committed to military cuſtody, by an edict of the 19th Jan. 1759. (20me Piece ibid. p. 266.) Another edict was publiſhed on the third of September, the anniverſary of the attack upon the King, by which they were "deprived of the rights of ſubjects, proſcribed, and exterminated from the kingdom." 34me Piece, 2de part. ibid. p. 180. The unmixed ſeverity of this decree reſpected, indeed, the profeſſed Jeſuits alone. Natives of Portugal, who had only taken upon themſelves the ſimple vows, might apply to be releaſed from their obligation, and to be diſmiſſed from the order. On ſuch diſmiſſal, they were permitted to continue in the country as private perſons. (Ibid. pp. 185, 186.)

The execution of this decree was attended with circumſtances of extreme hardſhip. One hundred and ſeventeen of the profeſſed members of the order are ſaid to have been embarked at Liſbon, on the night of the 15th of September, to paſs the remainder of their lives in the fortreſs of Magazan, or the forts of the iſland of Tercera[t]. (Ann. Reg. 1759. Oct. 31.) One hundred and thirty-three perſons of

[t] I ſuſpect, however, this account to be erroneous, and to originate in a miſtake as to the deſtination of thoſe Jeſuits, who in reality were ſent to Italy.

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the ſame deſcription were deported to the Papal territories, and diſembarked at Civita Vecchia on the 24th of October. Two Raguſian veſſels arrived at Marſeille on the 26th of the ſame month, with one hundred and twenty-one Jeſuits on board, of whom ten were permitted to land, but obliged to re-embark the ſame evening, in conſequence of ſome indiſcretion committed by them. Theſe veſſels, a few hours afterwards, were ordered to quit the road, though the weather was unfavourable to navigation. They next arrived at Genoa, where they met with a ſtill more inhoſpitable reception. At Leghorn, alſo, notwithſtanding the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, and vivid repreſentations of the miſerable condition to which the perſons embarked in them were reduced, the Governor refuſed permiſſion to land. Expreſs orders had been given by the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the Empreſs Queen, that none of the Jeſuits who were expelled from Portugal ſhould be admitted into their ſtates. Other veſſels, which followed the ſame route, experienced the ſame fate; and ſimilar prohibitions were iſſued by the republic of Venice, and the kings of Naples, Spain, and Sardinia. At length, however, theſe unhappy eccleſiaſtics found a refuge in the territories of the Pope. (Avertiſſement préfixé au Recueil des Décrets Apoſtoliques, &c. chap. 24. Hiſtoire Générale des Jeſuites, vol. iii. p. 51.) The Jeſuits of the Portugueze dominions in India were recalled, and ſent to Italy in the year 1761. (Ann. Reg. 1761. Chronicle, June 25.) [u]

[u] It is curious to obſerve, that, on the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits in Portugal, their ſyſtem of education was equally prohibited with the reſt of their inſtitute. An edict was paſſed by the King

The parliaments of Paris, of Bretagne, and Toulouſe, conſtituted the chief theatre, in which the af-

King of Portugal on the 28th of June, 1759, by which "the ſchools of humanity belonging to the Jeſuits are aboliſhed, their method of teaching is forbidden to be uſed, and a new method preſcribed." (3me Piece du Recueil des Décrets Apoſt. &c. part. ii. p. 140.) "From the publication of the preſent decree, all claſſes and ſchools which had been conſided to them for the inſtruction of my faithful ſubjects, but which have produced the moſt pernicious and fatal conſequences, are to be conſidered as diſſolved, and are in effect diſſolved accordingly; the very memory of them being aboliſhed, as if they had never exiſted in theſe kingdoms, where they have cauſed the moſt horrible and enormous crimes." Ibid. p. 144. A new ſyſtem of humanity learning is then ordained throughout all Portugal, and the whole method of the Jeſuits, their grammars, and commentaries are proſcribed, and thoſe of their adverſaries recommended. Next follow "Inſtructions for the Profeſſors of the Latin grammar, of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and of Rhetoric, made and publiſhed by order of our Lord the King, for the uſe of the ſchools newly founded in theſe kingdoms, and their dependancies." Ibid. p. 155. It is not a little amuſing, to ſee rules for the compoſition of themes included in a royal edict, with grave recommendations of the Port-Royal Grammar, and Sanctius's Minerva; the dictionaries of Geſner and Facciolati; the lexica of Schrevelius, Scapula, and Stephens.

Theſe literary obligations of the Portugueze to their conſiderate ſovereign may be compared with the ſimilar injunctions of the Papal legate to France, in 1215, which direct the courſe of ſtudies to be purſued in the Univerſity of Paris. (Launoy de varia Ariſtotelis fortuna, p. 87. ed. 8vo. Pariſ. 1662.) I know not whether either the Jeſuits or the King of Portugal would have been flattered by a compariſon between the proſcription of the writings of that ſociety, in the middle of the eighteenth century, at Liſbon, and the perſecution of Ariſtotle's Metaphyſics by the Council of Sens, or Paris in the year 1209. "qui quoniam non ſolum hæreſi (Almarici) ſententiis ſubtilibus occaſionem præbebant, *immo et aliis nondum inventis præbere potrant*, juſſi ſunt omnes comburi; et ſub pœna excommunicationis cautum eſt in eodem Conſilio,

fairs of the Jeſuits, during the courſe of the ſame year, (1761,) were agitated in France. On the 6th

ſilio, ne quis eos de cætero ſcribere, et legere præſumeret, vel quocunque modo habere." Rigordus cited, Launoy. ibid. pp. 6, 7. It does not ſeem, however, that this interdiction was intended to continue longer, than till the dangerous writings to which it relates ſhould be ſatisfactorily corrected. But the limitation did not procure implicit obedience to the command which it accompanied, even when that command afterwards received the ſanction of the Pope himſelf. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus ſtill dared to read and comment, which reduces Launoy to great difficulties, in endeavouring to defend the illuſtrious St. Thomas from the imputation of *Ariſtotelizing*. Launoy, ubi ſup. pp. 83. 85. The bigotry in the two caſes ſeems nearly alike; though, indeed, it muſt be allowed, that the ſyſtem of education adopted by the Jeſuits was directed, as much as poſſible, to confirm their own aſcendancy, and promote the reception of their own doctrines. It was enacted in the conſtitutions themſelves, "that, in the ſtudy of the ſacred languages, not only the underſtanding of Scripture be kept in view, but alſo the defence of the authorized verſion." Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, p. 315. "That it be leſs kept in view," is the reading in Dom Inigo, i. p. 193. It is to be preſumed, that the Jeſuits would be at leaſt equally ſolicitous to propagate their own maxims, as to defend the vulgate tranſlation. This juſtice, however, is due to them, and ought not to be withheld, that they were, as a body, far more ſtudious to promote the intereſts of learning, than any other of the eccleſiaſtical ſocieties. See W. Whitaker cited, R. Simon, Hiſt. Critique du Vieux Teſtament, liv. iii. chap. 19. That we may fairly eſtimate their merits in this reſpect, it is juſt to recollect, that at the period of the Reformation, "the faculty of Theology at Paris declared before the Parliament aſſembled, 'That religion was undone, if the ſtudy of Greek and Hebrew was permitted.' The mendicant monks held another language. Obſerve the expreſſions of one of thoſe common ſoldiers of Hochſtraten's army. Conrad of Hereſbach, a very grave and reſpectable author of that period, thus relates the monk's own words. 'They have invented a new language, which they call Greek: you muſt be carefully on your guard againſt

of Auguſt, 1762, their conſtitutions were condemned unanimouſly by the parliament of Paris; the order was declared to be diſſolved; and its property confiſcated. Moſt of the other parliaments of the kingdom adopted ſimilar meaſures. At the cloſe of the year, it was enacted by the parliament of Paris, that all Jeſuits, whether profeſſed, or not, who choſe to continue in the kingdom, ſhould, within eight days, take an oath of renunciation to their inſtitute. It may be thought, that the members of a ſociety ſo notorious for its indirect caſuiſtry might, on ſo tempting an occaſion, have been diſpoſed to avail themſelves of their ancient doctrine of mental reſervation: but it is recorded to their honour, that "theſe men, who were thought diſpoſed to ſport with the moſt ſolemn obligations of religion, and had been often repreſented as ſo diſpoſed, refuſed almoſt all of them to take the oath required; in conſequence of which they received orders, which were rigorouſly executed, to quit the kingdom. In vain did many of them repreſent their age, their infirmities, and their ſervices: ſcarcely any one of their requeſts was admitted. The puniſhment ſo juſtly inflicted on the ſociety was carried, with reſpect to individuals, to an extreme, though, perhaps, neceſſary ſeverity." D'Alembert, pp. 137, 138. and Ann. Regiſter, 1762. Chronicle, Dec. 13.

againſt it: it is the mother of all hereſy. I obſerve in the hands of many perſons a book written in that language, and which they call the New Teſtament. It is a book full of daggers and poiſon. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain, that all thoſe who read it become inſtantaneouſly Jews." Villers on the Reformation, Engl. Tranſlation by Mills, pp. 93, 94. note.

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The arrêts of the Parliament were confirmed by a royal edict of November 1764, "whereby his Majeſty diſſolves the ſociety of Jeſuits for ever; but permits them, nevertheleſs, to reſide in his kingdom as individuals, under ſubjection to the ſpiritual ſuperiors of the places where they reſide, and on conforming themſelves to the laws, and behaving in all reſpects as becomes good ſubjects." Ann. Reg. 1764. art. dated Paris, Dec. 7. Chronicle, Dec. 31. On the 7th of Jan. 1765, Clement XIII. iſſued a bull, by which the order was confirmed and approved. This bull was ſuppreſſed by the Parliament of Paris[a]; and even the liberty before allowed was taken away by an arrêt of May 1767, by which all Jeſuits were ordered to quit France in fifteen days, under pain of a criminal proſecution, and forbid ever to return under any pretence whatever. Ibid. 1765. Chronicle, Feb. 19. and Oct. 31. and 1767. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. v. Chalotais, Compte rendu. D'Alembert, pp. 112, 129, 133, 142, &c. L'Art de vérifier les dates, iii. tomes, fol. Paris, 1787. vol. i. p. 721—723.

The Jeſuits of Spain were ſent to Civita Vecchia in 1767, as the members of the ſame order in Portugal had been ſent there in 1759, (ſee Ann. Reg. 1767. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. v. and a tranſlation of the king of Spain's ordinance on the ſubject. Ibid. p. 185.) but the Pope and Cardinals after conſultation on the ſubject refuſed them permiſſion to land. "The convoy, after lying ſome time in the harbour, received

[a] It was ſuppreſſed alſo in Portugal by letters patent under the ſign manual of the king.

orders to proceed to Baſtia; and the French court made uſe of its influence with the republic of Genoa to receive the Jeſuits in the towns that remained in its hands in the iſland of Corſica. At length the embarkation from Civita Vecchia arrived at Baſtia: here they were as unfortunate as before: matters were not yet brought to a concluſion between the French and the Genoeſe, and they were obliged to remain on board in the harbour. Three other embarkations took at different times the ſame route as the firſt to Civita Vecchia; where meeting with the ſame fate, they afterwards proceeded to Corſica, where they lay in the harbours of Baſtia and San Fiorenzo, but were not permitted to land. The conditions being at length ſettled with the republic, the different embarkations received orders to ſail to Calvi, Algaiola, and Ajaccio; at which ports the tranſports were diſburdened of their unhappy freight, and the ſurviving Jeſuits, to the number, it is ſaid, of 2300, were landed." Ibid. The Jeſuits of Mexico were arreſted in the month of July in the ſame year, and together with the members of the order who had been reſident in Paraguay, and the other foreign dominions of Spain, were tranſported to Europe, and became partakers of the ſame fate. See De Pagés, vol. i. p. 155, &c. ed Paris, 1782.

They found not, however, a permanent aſylum even among the barren rocks of Corſica: they were expelled by the French in 1768, and landed at Genoa in great miſery, whence they were driven rather than conducted into the Papal territories. Ann. Reg. 1768. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. viii.

For

For the ſimilar conduct of Ferdinand IV. king of Sicily and Naples, ſee L'Art de vérifier les dates, vol. iii. p. 863. and the Annual Regiſter for 1767. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. v. See alſo an account of the expulſion of the Jeſuits from ſome of the other Italian ſtates, ibid. 1768. Hiſt. of Europe, ubi ſup.

The Papal cabinet ſeems to have been divided on the meaſures to be purſued reſpecting them. The repulſe from Civita Vecchia, in 1767, of thoſe who had been expelled from Spain, was dictated rather by circumſtances conſidered to be imperious than by inclination. "After a ſtrong conteſt it was determined in a congregation of cardinals held at Rome in 1768, that the expiring ſociety of the Jeſuits ſhould be ſupported as much as poſſible." Ann. Reg. 1768. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. viii. The conduct of Ganganelli in 1769 is ſtamped with that equitable character which might have been expected from ſo enlightened and amiable a man. (Ibid. 1769. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. v.) It was however by a bull of this pontiff, dated July 21, 1773, that the ſociety was finally ſuppreſſed. (Ibid. 1773. Hiſt. of Europe, chap. 5.) "In conſequence of this bull, ten biſhops went at night, attended by a detachment of Corſican ſoldiers, to all the colleges and houſes belonging to the Jeſuits in Rome, of which they took poſſeſſion, and having placed the neceſſary guards, the communities were aſſembled, and after the proper notices and forms were gone through, thoſe fathers delivered up their keys, and the locks of their archives being ſealed, and effects of all ſorts being ſecured, even to proviſions, they were allowed eight days to find new dwellings and to quit

the habit of the order. They at the ſame time gave up their ſchools, and reſigned all the functions of their miniſtry of whatever ſort or nature. The bull extended to all countries whatever in which they were placed, and ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt thoſe, who ſhould harbour or conceal any of their effects.

"Their General, father Ricci, is to be appointed to a biſhopric, and ſuch of the Jeſuits as were already in holy orders were allowed either to become ſecular clergymen, or to enter into other orders having firſt ſerved the accuſtomed noviciate of that into which they are to enter: penſions are to be allowed out of their former poſſeſſions, to thoſe who become ſecular clerks, and the biſhops, under whoſe juriſdiction they are totally to remain, have a diſcretionary power to admit ſuch of them as are remarkable for learning and purity of doctrine, to preach and to confeſs, from which they are totally reſtrained, without a written licence for that purpoſe. Thoſe who had gone through the laſt vows, or who through age and infirmities were unfit to enter into the world, were to be collected and placed in one or more of their ancient houſes or colleges, where they are for ever reſtrained from preaching, confeſſion, and all the functions of their miniſtry, and are only allowed to exiſt upon a ſubſiſtence for life: the biſhops being particularly charged, as they will anſwer it at the laſt day, to look to the ſtrict obſervance of theſe prohibitions. Such as are diſpoſed to dedicate their time to the inſtruction of youth, are totally debarred from all ſhare in the government of thoſe colleges

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and ſchools in which they ſerve, and the ſtricteſt caution is preſcribed, that none are admitted to that ſervice, who do not ſhow themſelves averſe to all ſpirit of diſpute, and who are not untainted with any doctrines which may occaſion or ſtir up frivolous and dangerous controverſies. The ſcholars and novices were returned to their reſpective homes, and thoſe who had only taken the firſt vows were diſcharged from them: and all the ſtatutes, rules, cuſtoms, decrees and conſtitutions of the order, even though confirmed by oath, were totally annulled and abrogated." Ibid. The unfortunate Ricci, however, was detained a priſoner for life in the caſtle of St. Angelo [b].

Auſtria, Pruſſia, and, at a later period, Ruſſia, were the only conſiderable ſtates that intereſted themſelves to alleviate the misfortunes of the Jeſuits [c]. The court of Vienna, though emancipated from the dominion of the order, made ſome repreſentations in its favour to the Pope. (Hiſt. Générale des Jeſuites, vol. iii. p. 55.)

[b] Ganganelli, it is known, was in a manner compelled by France to ſign the bull for the deſtruction of the Jeſuits.

The following anecdote is curious.

" Ganganelli avoit dedié une theſe au Pere Ricci, général des Jeſuites, qu'il a retenu priſonnier enſuite juſqu'à ſa mort dans le chateau S. Ange, et cependant le cardinal Spinelli l'avoit fait nommer cardinal parce qu'on avoit apperçu dans ſa bibliotheque une armoire ſecrette remplie de livres contre les Jeſuites." La Lande, Voyage en Italie, vol. iv. p. 448.

[c] " Prince Charles of Lorraine, and ſeveral corporations in the Auſtrian Netherlands, have given ſuch as thought proper to take ſhelter among them a favourable reception." (Ann. Reg. 1762. Chronicle, Dec. 13.)

Frederic

Frederic II. was deſirous to attract to the ſtates of Pruſſia a ſociety which would have contributed at leaſt to people, and probably to enrich them, and which was generally conſidered as rich, commercial, and induſtrious. He thought probably that by affording to it an aſylum in Sileſia, or in weſtern Pruſſia, he might gain to his ſtates whatever property it might be able to ſecrete from the violent requiſitions to which it was expoſed in the reſt of Europe. This point, however, at the inſtance of other courts he was obliged to abandon, and to content himſelf with protecting thoſe Jeſuits who had been already ſettled in his dominions. Even in Pruſſia the order was aboliſhed in 1776; but its individual members were permitted to continue the exerciſe of whatever functions they had before diſcharged. (Mirabeau, de la Monarchie Pruſſienne, vol. i. livre ii. p. 356, 358. 8vo. à Londres, 1788. Ann. Reg. 1776. Chronicle, March 14.)

Ruſſia ſeems to have afforded eſtabliſhment as well as protection to the remnant of an order once ſo powerful. (Tooke's Life of Catharine, vol. iii. p. 5, 7.) "At Polozk in White Ruſſia permiſſion was given by Pope Pius VI. Aug. 15, 1778, with the ſanction of the empreſs of Ruſſia, and by the archbiſhop of Mohilow, June 28, 1779, to open a houſe for the reception of novices. The Jeſuits of White Ruſſia held a general meeting, July 4, 1782, at Polozk, and elected their Vice Provincial (Staniſlaus Czerniewcz) Vicar General, with the full power of a General of the Jeſuits, October 17, 1782. After his death, which happened July 28, 1785, Gabriel Lem-

Lemkiewitcz the Rector, and firſt aſſiſtant, ſucceeded to his office. This account is taken from the Berlin Journal, called the Monatſcrift, of November, 1785, p. 418, and the newſpapers of Warſaw. It occurs likewiſe in the "full account of Jeſuitiſm, as it exiſts at preſent, the principles of the Roſicrucians, the rage to make proſelytes, promote a union of religions, &c." Dornford's Tranſlation of Pütter's Hiſtorical Developement of the preſent Political Conſtitution of the Germanic Empire, vol. iii. p. 195, 196.

The Jeſuits have alſo been re-eſtabliſhed in the two Sicilies, and, I believe, in ſome of the minor ſtates of Italy, where they devote themſelves either ſolely or principally to the buſineſs of education. It cannot, however, be doubted, but that their power is completely and for ever annihilated [d].

In contemplating this hiſtory, it is impoſſible not to be ſtruck with the very ſurpriſing coincidence between the real event, and certain predictions, which were made during the infancy of the order reſpecting its future character and fate. Borgia the third General profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive, leſt "the time ſhould come, when the ſociety would be much oc-

[d] I could have wiſhed to have given a more complete and ſatisfactory account of the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits than theſe pages afford. The reader may be aſſured that it is not the want of induſtry which has prevented me from obtaining on this point any but very meagre documents. Such is the preſent ſtate of the intercourſe between England and the continent, that I have been repeatedly fruſtrated in my attempts to procure better and more ample authorities than thoſe which I have poſſeſſed.

cupied

cupied with the ſtudy of letters, but without any affection for virtue: when pride and ambition would bear rule: and there would be no one to arreſt their progreſs. Be warned," he adds, " by the firſt counſel which I give you, leſt you ſhould learn from experience what reaſon gives too much cauſe to apprehend." (Benard, vol. ii. p. 336.)

But the moſt ſingular anticipation of this kind that I have ever ſeen is in a paſſage cited by Maclaine, (Notes to Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 96.) from a ſermon preached by Dr. George Brown, archbiſhop of Dublin, in the year 1551, only eleven years after the foundation of the order. " But there are a new fraternity of late ſprung up, who call themſelves Jeſuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Phariſees manner. Amongſt the Jews they ſhall ſtrive to aboliſh the truth, and ſhall come very near to do it. For theſe ſorts will turn themſelves into divers forms; with the Heathens a Heatheniſt, with the Atheiſts an Atheiſt, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformade, purpoſely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you, at laſt, to be like the fool that ſaid, in his heart, there was no God. Theſe ſhall ſpread over the whole world, ſhall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiſer: charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the ſecrets therein, and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their ſins; yet in the end,

God,

God, to juſtify his law, ſhall ſuddenly cut off this ſociety, even by the hands of thoſe who have moſt ſuccoured them, and made uſe of them; ſo that at the end, they ſhall become odious to all nations. They ſhall be worſe than the Jews, having no reſting place upon earth, and then ſhall a Jew have more favour than a Jeſuit."

ERRATA.

P. 156. Notes (f) and (g). for Niebuhr, read Thunberg.

APPENDIX.

P. 9, l. 22, for *votum* read *totum*
p. 18, l. 25, for Salmonet read Salmeron
p. 48, l. 6, read ſumma
p. 70, note (i), l. 9, étoient read étoit

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